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The Elicitation of Stereotypes: An
Experimental Investigation

by

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Abstract

This study consists of an investigation into the problems connected with the elicitation of stereotypes. An attempt was made to discover what aspects of elicitation procedures affected the types of judgements made.

Six experiments were run, five of which were variations on two broad methodological paradigms (the adjective check-list method, and the semantic differential format), and the sixth experiment used a direct elicitation approach. Four areas of stereotyping were investigated - race, occupation, dress style and christian names - and it was hypothesized that individuals who endorsed the stereotype of one area, would also endorse the stereotypes of other areas. Subjects were mainly university students, but three non-student populations were also used - from a school, a technical college, and adult education classes.

An examination of the results revealed that methodological and stimulus variations produced many differences in the quality of stereotypes produced across the six experiments. Occupational stereotypes were the strongest and most clearly defined, with racial stereotypes being the most ambiguous and vague. It was established that knowledge of the stereotype content of these four areas was held by the subjects, but this required a 'direct' elicitation technique to produce. When 'disguised' elicitation procedures were used, endorsements of this stereotype content was considerably lessened. The hypothesis that 'stereotype generalisation' would occur was not upheld.

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Impression Formation and Person Perception

Person perception, (or as it is sometimes called, 'social' perception) has many terms subsumed under it; such as interpersonal perception, inter-personal interaction and impression formation. Functionally these first two synonyms are unnecessary, but the latter - impression formation - does describe an intrinsic mechanism of person perception that many investigators have studied. It is questionable how far these two processes of person perception

- (i) Impression Formation and Person Perception
 - (ii) The position of Stereotyping in Psychological Research
- research literature as two separate components - albeit related - and as such provide two different and important terms for the field.

(1) The Basic components of the process

In forming impressions of others, information received from the stimulus persons is perceived and processed and responded to in terms of the individual and his environment. This response is also composed of the expectancies that the perceiver has built up about the stimulus information and the affective reactions related to the overall integration of stimulus information. Thus the fundamental characteristics of person perception procedure are reducible (in a simple way) to three basic components: the attribution, the expectancy and the affection components.

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A. The Attribution Component: The attributing of certain characteristics to a stimulus person, is a fundamental part of all impression formation, and the majority of research studies have been concerned with how individuals attribute both overt and covert characteristics to other people. These judgements may simply be reflective of what the individual sees (e.g. size, colour, shape etc. or what they actually see the observed do), but the perceiver is also likely to infer other traits that the individual is likely to possess from those that have already been perceived.

The attributive component in person perception is basically concerned with the categorisation of the various input stimuli received from the stimulus figure. This idea of categorisation is fundamental both to the perception of people and the perception of objects. Bruner (1954) has based his theoretical position upon this aspect of perception, arguing that "what is perceived derives its meaning from the category in which it is placed, and from the way this category is distinguished from other categories". This basic idea of categorisation has been taken up by other writers, either using different terminology (e.g. Sarbin et al 1960, and his idea of instantiation), or using related ideas. Bieri (1955) speaks of the interpretation of stimuli, in terms of the number of dimensions upon which it falls (e.g. alertness, intelligence etc.) whilst Sherif and Hovland (1961) emphasize

that an attributive judgement always involves a comparison between two or more stimuli (e.g. loud is always in relation to some other intensity, and intelligence is always relative). They suggest that we are continually forming frames of reference which include dimensions relevant to each class of stimuli and within which judgements are made.

Attributive judgements may be of two forms - either they concern judgements made about a particular sequence of behaviour of the individual at any one time (episodic judgements), or they concern those independent characteristics which seem to be relatively independent of a particular situation or stimulus, (so-called dispositional judgements). These two dimensions may be of either overt or covert characteristics deduced through inference.

Thus the attributive component of person perception is probably the most apparent and as such it is understandable why it has been regarded as being one of the most important by many researchers in this field. Attribution of traits, either spontaneously or through the interpretation of, or selection from, a list has been a common elicitory approach in impression formation in person perception. (Asch 1942, Taft 1955, Katz and Braly 1933 etc.)

B. The Expectancy component: This is closely related to the attributes one assigns to stimulus persons. Brown (1965) explains that for the most part these expectancies are not conscious. The individual only realises that he

has held such expectancies when he finds that they have been disconfirmed. The role of expectancy is important for both the perception of objects and the perception of people. Bruner and Goodman (1947) showed quite dramatically how value and need could produce expectancies that would admit great distortion in the perception of coins and discs by poor and rich children.

The main example of expectancy in person perception however, is when the individual extrapolates from an episodic judgement - assuming that what has occurred in a particular stimulus situation will be enduring and recurring, i.e. turning the episodic judgement into a dispositional one. The individual determines his expectancies to some degree, through his value orientations. Postman, Bruner and McGinnies (1948) have attempted to show that value orientation is related to perceptual selectivity through three main mechanisms: value orientation makes for perceptual sensitivity to valued stimuli, which in turn leads to perceptual defence against threatening stimuli and gives rise to the process of value resonance which keeps the person responding in terms of things that are valuable to him.

It is implicit in the very terminology that dispositional judgements will carry with them expectations - possibly the most important of these is the expectancy of there being stability in an individual's behaviour. This is important because this would enable predictions to

be made about the way that a stimulus figure might affect us.

C. The Affection Component: This final component of person perception is one that is central, not only to impression formation studies, but also to attitude formation and judgemental processes generally. Emotional responses may involve such feelings as like, dislike, respect, etc. and are specific responses to the stimulus input that the perceiver receives. The affective nature of a response does not seem to be reducible to the sum of a number of perceived attributes - but to be a function of the perceiver rather than the perceived. Affective judgements are of such great importance because they can be vital in determining the choice of stimuli perceived later.

All aspects of impression formation are likely to be affected by:

- (a) The objective stimulus characteristics of the person.
- (b) The nature of the stimuli to which the perceiver selectively responds.
- (c) Perceiver variables - the perceiver's cognitive abilities and personality characteristics.
- (d) Social interaction - relationships between the perceiver and the stimulus person, and the perceiver's 'sharing' impressions of another.

These, therefore, can be regarded as the basic characteristics of the process of person perception. However, within this broad heading, another sub-division is apparent which is salient to experimental studies within the field, and this is:

(ii) Direct and Indirect Person Perception

Many of the studies in person perception have been ostensibly concerned with overt dyadic interaction between individuals. These studies have attempted to assess the perception of information given out by the present stimulus person, and perhaps to ascertain, through comparison with self report, its accuracy. No mention in these cases, is made of what Warr and Knapper (1968) call 'stored stimulus information'. Although what can be called 'direct' person perception (made on the basis of face to face contact) does play an important part in interaction and everyday perception, it is by no means its whole component. Many of the judgements we make of other people do not require interaction, and many of the judgements are based on impoverished stimuli ('indirect' person perception). The 'common' characteristic between these two types is that they require a communication network of some kind. Warr and Knapper have produced a schematic representation of person perception which illustrates this well. (This can be found overleaf.)

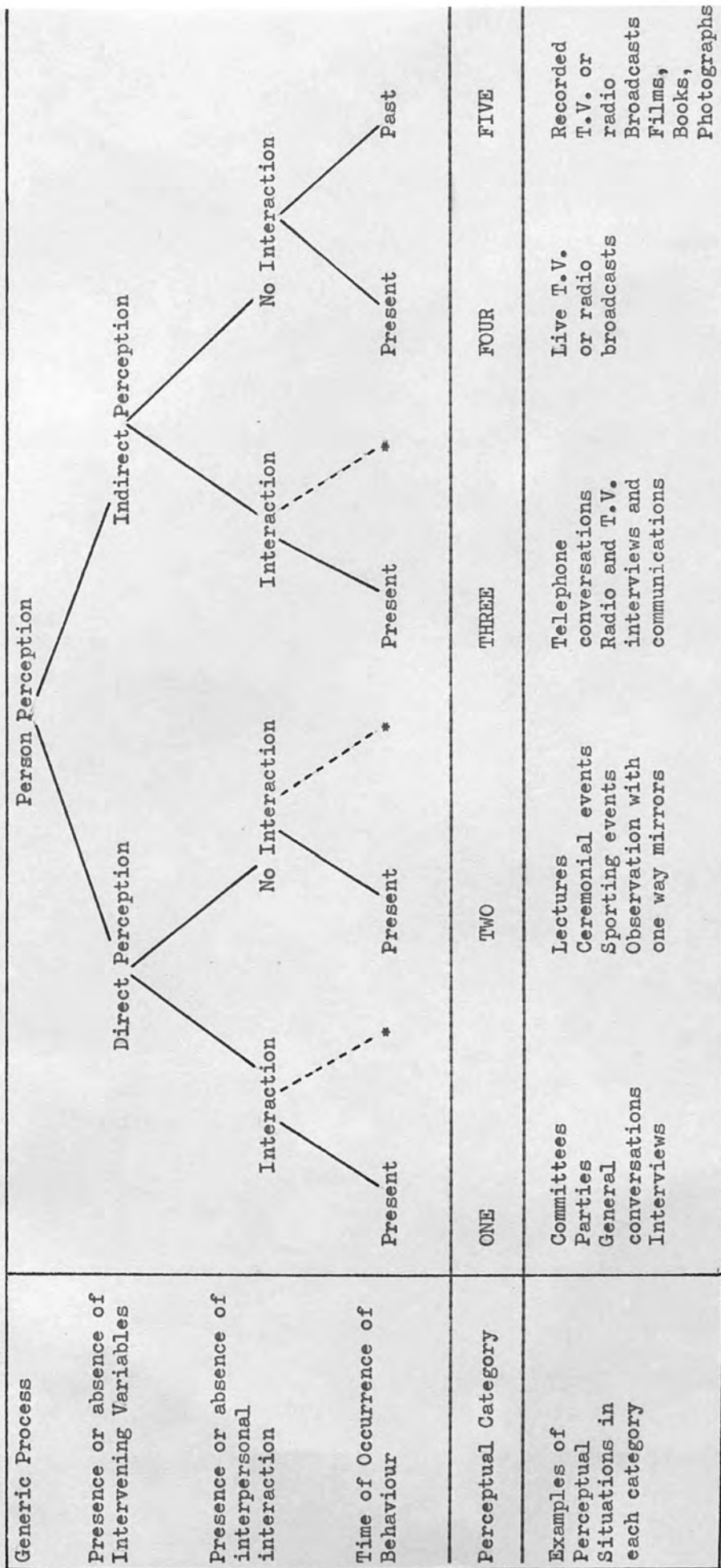


Diagram to show types of perceptual situations organized in terms of three characteristics. (Direct / Indirect, Interaction / no interaction, Present / Past behaviour.)

from Warr and Knapper (1968) 'The perception of people and events' page 30.

The difference between direct and indirect person perception lies principally with the amount of stimuli that are available to the perceiver to make his judgements - (both in real life and in experimental situations).

Certainly 'direct' perception is highly complex and a multiplicity of cues are available to the perceiver upon which he can make judgements. (Even given that the perceived may consciously or unconsciously limit the amount of information emitted - this is still a vast amount.) The extent of these cues is lacking in 'indirect' perception, especially in the experimental situation. When the stimuli available are impoverished, those aspects of the stimulus person that are selected for presentation become more salient, and factors within the perceiver become more important. "The rationale here is the same as that underlying projective testing techniques: that when an input from a stimulus is restricted, certain perceiver characteristics have more scope in which to exert themselves". Warr and Knapper (1968).

(iii) Cue Availability

The great variety of cues that are available to the observer in 'real life' person perception include static or physical cues (e.g. physique, facial structure, skin colour, etc.); dynamic or expressive cues (emotional expression, body stance etc.); content factors (what the stimulus person does, rather than how); situational fac-

tors; communications from other people about the stimulus person himself. All or some of these cues are used by the observer in making his judgements. An interesting point to note is that the subject always sees the stimulus person as a whole, no matter how fragmentary the cues.

"Inconsistencies, variability or unintegratedness may indeed be perceived, but these tend to make us search for deeper motives or traits which reconcile them". (Vernon 1963).

Impressions can be and are based on a wide variety of different sources of information about people, and these cues can be subsumed under various headings. These include:

- a) Indirect sources of information
- b) Appearance
- c) Expressive behaviour
- d) Coping behaviour
- e) Context
- f) Presentation order

These are the list of traits presented by Livesley and Bromley (1973), based on the work of Icheiser (1949) and Vernon (1963).

Appearance is probably one of the most important sources of information either in face to face interaction or in indirect perception. From this is established the 'identity' of the other person in terms of such characteristics as age, sex, maybe class etc. Stone (1962),

reported that most people assume that an individual expresses himself through his appearance - thus providing valuable information about his tastes and attitudes. He might, through his appearance, reveal some of his personality traits, such as carelessness or fastidiousness; or it may betray his moods as to whether he is gaily or sombrely dressed.

Expressive behaviour in both judgements and interpretation has been extensively studied - even though such research is complicated by the fact that much expressive behaviour is idiosyncratic and situationally determined. The most expressive region of the body is the face and thus it is not surprising that a great deal of such research has concentrated on this area. (Stritch, Secord and Johnson 1960; Schlosberg 1954; Triandis and Lambert 1958 etc.). Facial expression, body movements, speech style - in fact all dynamic cues, provide valuable information.

In some cases what a person does, provides the perceiver with more information than how he does it. Into the perception of such an action goes the interpretation and projection of moods, intentions and values. This assignment of intention has often been the focus of study. Jones and Davies (1965) (amongst others) have analysed some of the processes involved. It is interesting to note however that it is possible to assign intentions to people on the basis of an incomplete action, (and sometimes

without any action at all to analyse). An action produces many effects, and assigning an intention to an action requires that intended effects can be differentiated from those effects that are accidental. The assignment of intentions is an important topic in person perception because such intentions are often a pre-condition to the attribution of permanent and stable characteristics.

(iv) The Effects of Perceiver Variables on Impression Formation

Perhaps one of the most important of the perceiver variables in impression formation is the cognitive organisation of the individual and the cognitive differences between individuals. A more detailed discussion of this problem appears later (see page 67); it is sufficient to say here that the degree of cognitive differentiation that the individual has at his disposal will greatly affect his ability to make sensitive judgements of others, and his ability to integrate conflicting information. Similarly personality style will affect judgemental processes in the same way.

(v) Implicit Theories of Personality

The so-called implicit theories of personality are in fact expectancies about how another person might behave in a certain situation. (Livesley and Bromley 1973 say "in terms of Gestalt psychology, implicit personality

theory makes for 'closure' and for an unified impression".)

The original work on implicit personality theory (although he did not use the term) was that of Asch (1946) - he presented identical lists of traits to two sets of subjects, the only difference between the two list being the inclusion of the adjective 'warm' in one list and the adjective 'cold' in the second. He found that this change of just one adjectival trait was sufficient to alter the personality description. Therefore Asch concluded that the 'warm/cold' dimension was central to the expectancies of his subjects.

The importance of indirect sources of information has already been mentioned and is closely linked with what expectancies this then leads us to form. Kelly (1955) says such expectancies are easily aroused. A new lecturer was introduced to a class of students who were told: "He is 26 years old, a veteran and married. People who know him consider him to be a rather ---- person, industrious, critical, practical and determined". The blank was filled with either 'warm' or 'cold'. After a discussion, the students were asked to rate the lecturer on a series of traits. The inclusion of 'warm' and 'cold' did have a significant effect on these ratings.

The idea of an implicit or 'lay theory of personality' was put forward by Bruner and Taguiri (1954), who stressed the importance of studying the kinds of inferences that

people are led to, by the knowledge that another individual has a particular characteristic. They were interested in relating

- a) the inferences made from individual traits taken in isolation, and
- b) the inferences made from the same traits in combination.

"An implicit theory of personality implies a range and intensity - e.g. it may pre-dispose one to perceive people as being more (or less) selfish than do others. These effects produce differences between individuals in the perception of others" (Livesley and Bromley 1973).

Implicit personality theories seem to develop through past experiences, associations and learning, and are useful for integrating information into a concise and useful form.

(vi) Comparison of Person and Object Perception

There are two main types of explanation for our perceptions and interpretation of the emotions and dispositions of others. Firstly 'inference' theory, which is based on association and the process of social learning, and secondly 'intuition' theory, which includes instinctive reactions and empathy and physiognomic perceptions. As Vernon (1963) points out, there is no hard and fast line between the reception of sense data and inferences

regarding the source of the data. To this extent there is a comparison between the perception of objects and the perception of people. Object perception is not just a kind of reflection or picturing in the observer's mind of physical stimuli from the environment; it is a constructive mental activity whereby the observer processes, codes and transforms his sensations in such a way as to resolve the world into intelligible and stable entities. McLeod (1963) describes it as a process whereby objects and events including their qualities, meanings and relations, become present to the observer. This description also seems to be appropriate for person perception. The 'coding process' in object perception leads over without a break into further analyses and inferences, much as in the process of person perception. Jones and Thiabaut (1958) also maintain this position, saying that the processes of greatest interest in impression formation are primarily those of inference, induction and deduction rather than "isomorphic reflections of social reality" which the term perception sometimes suggests.

(vii) Present Research Trends in Person Perception

One of the fundamental processes of person perception in particular and perception generally, is the ability of the individual to integrate information based on past experiences and learning, into manageable, useful and relevant categories which can then make further new

information easily assimilated. Within person perception "dispositions, intentions, motives and attitudes, interests and abilities, play a crucial part in our interpretation of people, since it is these that give consistency and stability to what would otherwise be a chaotic series of actions". (Vernon 1963). The individual's ability to structure his impressions in a way that enables 'accurate' judgements to be made is very important. Brown (1965) goes so far as to say that the accuracy of person perception in everyday life must be high since social interaction usually proceeds fairly smoothly.

Accuracy of impression formation has been the subject of scrutiny for many researchers. (Crow and Hammond 1957; Rabinowitz 1956; Cline and Richards 1960 etc.) Taft (1955) surveyed many studies of impression formation and the accuracy of such impressions, and listed the variables in a judge's personality which would be found in an 'accurate' judge. These included - complexity of the judge's character; aesthetical sensitivity; breadth of personal experience; age; some slight correlation with intelligence; some slight sex difference (women seeming to be better judges than men).

Other studies have concentrated more on the possibility that differences in cognitive style will produce greater or lesser accuracy in judging other people. Gage and Cronbach (1957) point out that many writers assume that there is a general trait or ability of inter-personal

perceptiveness. However, the methodological differences between studies have negated this concept. Gage and Cronbach and Crow and Hammond 1957 have both suggested that there is little relationship between accuracy of perception scores derived from two or more elicitory procedures - primarily because of the difficulties involved in keeping cues constant and the problem of avoiding an artificial judgemental situation. Cline and Richards (1960) say that it is meaningful to accept the concept of a generalised trait of inter-person perception effectiveness, even though it is factorially complex. They liken it to the concept of intelligence which is also factorially complex, but is nevertheless an admissible entity.

The position of stereotyping in psychological research

(i) Stereotyping and Person Perception

Person perception studies in general have given little attention to stereotypes. When mentioned in 'direct' person perception studies, the stereotype is usually regarded as another response-set available to the observer, and is very rarely defined. For instance, Kretch and Crutchfield (1962) when describing the influences that can affect person perception studies, say "Three cognitive systems in the perceiver influence his perceptions and judgements of other people; - halo effect; implicit personality theory; and stereotypes". Besides a lack of definition, no mention is made by the writers to show up the link that does exist between stereotyping and implicit personality theory.

Many of the person perception studies involving the effects of stereotypes have omitted one very important variable. Razran (1950), Secord, Bevan and Katz (1956) and Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum (1960), all assume that changes in the perceptions of individuals when ethnic cues were given, were due to an 'ethnic' stereotype becoming operative with the appearance of these cues. However, these investigators made no attempt to ascertain the particular stereotypes of the ethnic groups. Thus saying that "perceptions were changed in

the direction of the stereotype" is both subjective and equivocal. This somewhat 'casual' approach to stereotyping in person perception may, in part, be due to the main emphasis of person perception studies, where dyadic accuracy and 'direct' person perception studies predominate.

Not all studies have accepted the function and effect of stereotypes in as tacit a way as Razran (1950), Secord (1959), and Tajfel, Sheik, and Gardner (1964) determined the stereotype first and then demonstrated that reactions to the stimulus person were dependant on the stereotype. Secord (1959) for example, found that as long as a photograph was labelled 'Negroid' (even though it might have looked Caucasoid), the full Negro stereotype was attached to it.

Gardner and Taylor (1968) tried to re-organize the traditional error of person perception tasks, (where only a minimum amount of information is given and therefore the subject 'might be making the best of a bad job' - Brown 1965), by giving the subjects a lot of information about the object in question through an interview situation. Gardner and Taylor were interested in the study of message content and the role of social pressure on an individual's judgements. They maintained that previous studies had failed to demonstrate whether the effects of stereotypes on person perception were due to the belief system itself, or whether they were due to the expected

support that such beliefs might warrant. From their investigations Gardner and Taylor suggest that stereotypes influence person perception because of the beliefs system of the individual, but say that group support (i.e. group referent) serves as a guide in some ambiguous situations. They hold the view that stereotypes act as a kind of cognitive filter which carefully controls, modifies or rejects in varying degrees, incoming information.

In person perception, the task of the subject is to attempt to assess the characteristics of the stimulus person. Many investigators have maintained (e.g. Deaux 1968) that when only a minimal amount of information is present then the implementation of the full stereotype is more likely. This would imply that when an individual is merely identified as being a member of a particular group, he will be attributed traits that are consistent with the stereotype (see Secord 1959). Gardner and Taylor (1968) however, have attempted to show that when an individual is provided with more information than just simple group membership, he will still respond to that person on the basis of the ethnic stereotype. This, they maintain, holds true whether the information that they are given supports or contradicts the stereotype. Even in situations where the bulk of information disagrees with the stereotype, the tendency is to ignore the discrepancy. Thus if there is any information that supports the stereotype, regardless of its origin, it will counteract the

effects of anti-stereotypical information. It can be seen, therefore, that stereotypes can be an aid and a source of error in judgement - particularly in the so-called 'indirect' assessments of persons. Stereotypes can be regarded as being part of the network of concepts or postulates that the individual has built up during the course of his experiences, both personal and cultural. Such concepts produce expectancies of what to look for in a flood of incoming stimuli. Sarbin (1960) maintains that when there is a fresh appearance of an object, it immediately becomes instantiated (i.e. becomes immediately subsumed under, or identified by means of the schema), and is immediately assigned the characteristics of the class to which it belongs. This seems to be the way in which stereotypes become utilized - a stimulus figure triggers off past associations connected with the stereotype of this particular category, and the new figure becomes instantiated with these past stereotypic associations.

Korten (1973) has attempted to assess the value of stereotypes as cognitive constructs. Her results suggest that the stereotype functions to allow the perceiver to reduce his environmental uncertainty, through prediction. (c.f. Gardner and Taylor's view of stereotypes as cognitive filters.) Like Vernon, Korten believes that stereotypes are valuable assets for the individual. Essentially a stereotype is a set of likelihoods which provide

the perceiver with predictive power "which he would not have without the stereotype" (Korten). She has attempted through her study (a cross cultural comparison of U.S. and Ethiopian judgemental processes) to show that the greater the validity a group characteristic was perceived to have, the more cognitively available it was for her subjects. Korten's view and work, shows very strongly that stereotypes are functionally part of the person perception process, and as such points up the fact that they have been conspicuously ignored in both 'direct' and 'indirect' person perception studies.

It would seem that stereotypes are fundamental enough to be worthy of study in their own right. If (as Boring, 1964, maintains) the purpose of perception is "economy in thinking" - through the picking out of what is important to the organism for its survival and welfare - then stereotypes, both in their content and function, should be regarded as an integral part of person perception studies to a far greater extent than has previously been apparent.

(ii) Locus and Scope of Stereotype Research

Experimental research into stereotype content and stereotyping mechanisms has been fairly consistent since Lippman's book in 1922 on 'Public Opinion', when his well-known, if inadequate, definition of them as 'Pictures in our heads' was coined. It seems symptomatic of the state

of interest in stereotypes at that time, that Lippman was a journalist not a scientist. In 1933 Katz and Braly carried out their now classic study using adjective check lists for traits that one hundred college students 'believed' were applicable to ten ethnic and national groupings. This work seemed to spark off a more scientifically-oriented interest in the topic.

The period immediately prior to, during and after, the second world war, was one of the peak times for stereotypy research. This was, as would be expected, concerned with the changing conceptions of the nations involved in the war. Kracauer (1949), for instance, demonstrates how the stereotype held by Americans of the English, was manipulated through the media, according to the exigencies of the American War-effort. Seago (1947) on the other hand was concerned with how the stereotype of the Japanese altered after the bombing of Pearl Harbour. Since 1945, the study of racial and ethnic stereotypes has become more vigorous. The reasons for this are many, but it would seem that because stereotypes have traditionally been viewed as being erroneous, they are regarded as being one of the more insidious reasons for communication breakdown, and thus the study of both the mechanisms and content of stereotypes has been actively encouraged by both national and international bodies, (e.g. the Kleinberg report, and the Buchanan report, (both 1952 commissioned by U.N.E.S.C.O.)

on auto, and heterostereotypes. Prothro (1954) maintained that it was the revival of nationalism after World War II that was responsible for the revival of interest in stereotypy.

Most research on the topic has been American, but more recently work has been carried out in India, Pakistan and the Middle East, e.g. Diab (1962 and 1963 a and b) and Sinya and Upadhy (1960). Britain is one country, however, where research on stereotyping as a topic in its own right, has been sparse. One of the most recent contributions has been that of Jahoda (1966), who gave his subjects information about a country and asked them to decide which country the information was applicable to. (This is discussed further on page 60). This new technique is valuable in helping understanding of the cognitive component of stereotypes, but helps little in understanding the affective component. Several studies have shown that the affective component precedes the cognitive, which is then tailored to fit the 'emotional' belief. However, this lack of knowledge of the affective component is not unique to the Jahoda technique.

Cheyne (1970), also attempted to bring a different approach into the study of stereotypes held by the British, when he attempted to assess stereotypes of Scottish and English people. He did this by presenting his subjects with vocal stimuli, and then, through the use of

rating scales, assessed the differences between them. He found that his results were contrary to what might be expected to be found in the stereotype of the Scotsman - in that 'generosity' was one of the few scales where Scottish voices were judged more favourably. (Strongman and Woolsley, 1967, also found distinct rating differences when they compared ratings of London and Yorkshire accents.)

Edwards (1940) described four dimensions along which stereotypes might vary - these being: (a) uniformity (i.e. the amount of agreement on traits attributed to groups); (b) direction (favourableness or unfavourableness of judgement); (c) intensity (degree of favourableness and unfavourableness) and (d) quality (i.e. content). What Edwards omitted is the question of whether stereotypes reflect accurate assessments of another group, and this question of the 'truth' of stereotypes, provides a fifth dimension for investigation. These five dimensions effectively cover the main approaches that researchers have taken with regard to stereotyping research.

(iii) The Effects of Culture on personality and
the Phenomena of National Character

For the past fifty years, the bulk of stereotyping research has concentrated on national and ethnic stereotypes, as these seemed to have most practical value. Such stereotypes are closely linked with the idea of 'national character'.

The idea of a nation having a 'character' peculiar to it alone is pervasive, but it is extremely difficult to validate empirically. The most recent attempt to quantify national character has been by Lynn (1972), whose thesis centres around the concept of anxiety and attempts to explain the variance in national character in these terms. One of his major claims is that anxiety levels vary between countries and this is expressed in the rates of mental illness, suicide, tobacco consumption and calorie intake. His argument is that varying levels of anxiety can be attributed to racial characteristics and to climate. Such a study may be thought to contribute little to the study of national stereotypes as "sources of information about (national) groups" (Triandis and Vassilou 1967), but it serves to illustrate the fact that some national differences in background statistics and possibly in personality exist.

Linton (1947) has conducted a close analysis of the relationship between cultural background and personality. His contention is that members of any society will be found to have a series of personality elements in common. These elements may be of any degree of specificity, ranging from simple overt responses to highly generalised attitudes . . . these common personality elements form a fairly well-integrated configuration which may be called the basic personality type for the society as a whole.

The existence of this configuration provides the members of the society with common understandings and values and makes possible the unified emotional responses of societies' members to situations where common values are involved. Linton's argument for the effects of culture on personality is a very logical one - in that his definition of personality is: "Personality is primarily a configuration of responses which the individual has developed as a result of his experience". Now these experiences must derive from the individual's interaction with his environment. Although the innate qualities of the individual influence personality development, the sort of influence they exert will largely be conditioned by environmental factors. There seems to be abundant anthropological evidence that neither innate abilities nor environment can be completely dominant in personality formation, (it is very much a nature/nurture controversy). However, it seems safe to conclude that innate biologically determined factors cannot be used to account for whole personality configurations or for various response patterns included within such configurations. Linton also mentions the cultural aspect of stereotypes, maintaining that both the behaviour of members of any society and the forms of the objects that they use are largely stereotyped and can be described in terms of cultural patterns. "When it is said that the developing individual's personality is shaped by culture, what is meant is that it is shaped by the experience he derives

from the contact with such stereotypes." (Linton)

Although this is an interesting contention, the vague use of the term and the total lack of definition makes it less valuable than it might have been. To summarise, the influences which culture exerts on a developing personality are of two different sorts (at least according to Linton). There are those influences that derive from culturally patterned behaviour of other individuals towards the child - (this beginning to operate at birth, and being especially important during infancy); and secondly there are those influences derived from the individual's observation of institutions, including the patterns of behaviour characteristic of the society. Many of these patterns do not affect the individual directly, but provide him with models for the development of his habitual responses to various situations.

The evidence that Linton brings forward to support his contentions is equivocal in two main ways. Firstly the kinds of research that have been traditionally used by anthropologists are highly subjective and non-standardised, and therefore it is dangerous to compare across cultures in terms of national character. Secondly, much of the work done on national character has been carried out in 'unsophisticated' simple societies, and how far postulates formed from the study of such societies are viably extracted to more complicated sophisticated societies is dubious.

This then poses the question - what exactly is the relationship between a society's self-view (view of its basic personality type) and the view that is held of it by other nations? (This is discussed on page 33 under the heading Idiosyncratic and Traditional stereotypes.)

The study of national image and national character is important if one is interested in the so-called 'Kernel of truth' hypothesis about stereotypy. Without some kind of valid information as to the reality or myth of national character, the 'truth' component of ethnic stereotypes cannot be accurately determined. Prothro and Melikian (1955), have suggested an alternate approach to the problem by suggesting that longitudinal and cross cultural studies of national stereotypes (both of in-group and any out-group) might be useful devices for the study of the basic personality type of the country in question. They maintain the validity of their position by saying that stereotypes reflect the social stimulus value of an ethnic group (including the social stimulus value of 'own' group): but have not in fact dealt with the problem of the 'truth' of the social stimulus value at all.

One of the main difficulties in this field is the problems connected with defining exactly what a nation is, and the problems of sampling sufficiently widely to justify findings as being representative of national character. This lack of solid foundation to discovering the 'kernel of truth' is not only a handicap in the study of national

character, it is also a handicap in the study of stereotyping.

(iv) Stereotyping and Prejudice

The perception of race and how such perceptions are affected by prejudice has often been a subject of study (Pettigrew, Allport and Barnett 1958; Allport and Kramer 1946; Gitter and Satow 1970; Maplass and Kravitz 1969). Berkowitz (1959) was interested in the judgemental processes of prejudiced individuals. He reported that they manifest different judgemental processes than their less prejudiced peers. Under stress highly prejudiced subjects use broader categories thereby using grosser discriminations. It would seem to be very likely that these grosser discriminations would take the form of stereotypic judgements (n.b. stereotypes by their very nature tend to ignore finer discriminations). Triandis and Davis (1965) isolated two particular components of prejudice which different types of subjects will utilise in varying degrees. These are the individuals who evince 'conventional' prejudice (for which stereotypes are relevant), where the perceiver is extremely sensitive to the race component when responding to a stimulus person. Other perceivers may show 'belief' prejudice - where the individuals are extremely sensitive to the beliefs of another person. (Frenkel-Brunswik, 1949, found that those who reacted unfavourably to minority groups were on the whole those who tended to

react in terms of the stereotype.)

That there is a symbiotic relationship between stereotyping and prejudice is unquestionable, but the exact relationship between them is vague. Do stereotypes instigate prejudice? Or are they overt rationalisations of prejudicial attitudes? That the relationship is close is shown in the way that various theories of prejudice have been taken completely into stereotype research as explanations of stereotype existence, e.g. the kernel of truth hypothesis and the scapegoat theory - both discussed in greater detail on page 37.

Stereotypes have long been regarded as one of the stumbling blocks for methods of eliminating or reducing prejudice. Allport (1954) implicitly includes stereotyping in his definition of prejudice - "prejudice is an antipathy, based upon a faulty and inflexible generalisation. It may be felt or expressed; it may be directed towards a group as a whole, or towards an individual because he is a member of a group." Kretch and Crutchfield (1962) however make the allusion explicit, when they say that prejudice is an unfavourable or favourable attitude towards an object, which tends to be highly stereotyped, emotionally charged and not easily changed by information. Stereotypes are insidious in prejudice because they may preclude any type of contact (which might reduce the amount of prejudice held by an individual), and

because they might make the final stages of rejection more accessible. (Allport has classified five levels of prejudicial behaviour, beginning with antilocution, and ending with physical attack and extermination.)

Secord has been interested in the relationship between prejudice and stereotyping; particularly in the role of physiognomy as a stimulus for a prejudicial or stereotypical judgement. Secord, Bevan and Katz (1956) found a significant relationship between prejudice scores and the degree of stereotypy exhibited when subjects were asked to rate Negroid and Caucasoid photographs. They found that in rating photographs, physiognomic cues other than racial, determined to some extent the attribution of personality traits - but that racial cues were the most significant. Secord, Bevan and Katz postulated that Anti-Negro judges exaggerate the personality stereotype of the Negro, whilst Pro-Negro judges de-emphasized it. Both Anti- and Pro-Negro judges perceived more Negroidness in the photographs than did neutral judges.

Fundamental to the study of the role of stereotypes in prejudicial judgements and behaviour is the idea of stereotypes as 'group referents'. Fishman (1956) explicitly discusses this connection saying that within groups, certain attitudes are officially or unofficially held (and these quite possibly are prejudicial attitudes) - the individual accepts the prevalent attitudes as part of his

acceptance of the group, and identifies with these views in his desire to be accepted by the group. Certainly groups sustain prejudice, and it is also certain that there is never any mention of stereotypes without some mention of group functioning. A full discussion of stereotypes as 'group referents' will be found on page 48 and this has very real importance for the study of prejudice.

(v) Idiosyncratic and Traditional Stereotypes

The idea that one can discover 'personal' (i.e. idiosyncratic) stereotypes is not new - idiosyncratic stereotypes are what are generally acknowledged in person perception to be implicit personality theories held by individuals. It has long been known that individuals build up expectations (largely unique expectations) about what traits go together in a personality configuration but the term previously used to describe the phenomena, was simply 'categorisation system'. Vinacke (1957) sees stereotypes as a whole, as a kind of concept which has fundamentally the same functions and characteristics as other concepts. They (i.e. both stereotypes and more 'orthodox' concepts) are organisations of experience with certain classes of objects (or persons) which are based on perceived relationships. This would seem to be a more appropriate explanation of 'personal' stereotypes than a description of the so-called 'traditional' stereotypes.

The main ways in which idiosyncratic stereotypes differ from straight-forward categorisation systems, or other 'concepts' is that such stereotypes are relatively inflexible; (although it is recognised that this will be to some extent dependent upon an individual's personality style). Personal or 'idiosyncratic' stereotypes will be applied in an undifferentiated way. Idiosyncratic stereotypes differ from the more traditional stereotypes in that they are personal, and it is unlikely that two individuals would hold exactly the same 'personal' stereotype of any one group - it would be more likely that these two individuals would hold conceptions that are common to many more other people and which would thus come under the heading of Traditional Stereotypes.

Secord says of idiosyncratic stereotypes: "Because consensus of opinion on stereotypes is only partial even for the most definite stereotypes - it is possible to speak of personal stereotypes as an individual's opinion, and social or 'traditional' stereotypes as the consensus of the majority of a given population of judges".

These two terms divide very broadly the field of stereotyping. The greatest interest, however, has been shown in the more traditional type of stereotyping. (A more detailed discussion of stereotype typologies and stereotype sub types will be found on page 62). However, recently another distinction has been made about stereotypes which has added two new terms to the field, but

which is not a completely new distinction. This is the idea of *out-group* stereotypes (heterostereotypes) and the stereotype of the *in-group* (autostereotypes). These terms have been coined by Triandis and Vassilou (1967); however, Abate and Berrien (1967) use the term *verotype* instead of autostereotype.

Hollander (1948) says that the stereotype of a group "may even affect the behaviour of the group itself - what is expected of an Englishman (e.g. the 'English Myth') may affect his behaviour towards an out-group", (Hollander). This phenomena has been called 'The mirror-image ideal' (e.g. Bronfenbrenner 1961, Tiryakian 1968), and also 'inauthenticity' (Satre, 1948, Broyard 1950) - although in this latter case 'imposed authenticity' might be a better term. In summary, the implication of these terms, is that minority members accept the dominant image of the minority and reinforce it, so that the imposed view becomes self-fulfilling. Maykovich (1972) has been very concerned with this idea in her study of second generation Japanese Americans, and she charts the reaction against the imposed stereotype, now being displayed through the 'Black Power' movement, and more recently the 'Yellow Power' movement. Stereotypes, in the sense that they might emphasize derogatory traits can therefore be dangerous. However, on the other hand, a belief that common aspirations, attitudes and values are held seems to be

A NECESSARY ONE FOR ^{A FEELING OF} GROUP IDENTITY. Therefore, in this context, a stereotype might be used in a useful way. Some nations have anthropomorphised these values attitudes and aspirations in a national image, such as the British 'John Bull' and the French 'Marianne' (Gadoffre 1951), and these are invoked in times of crisis, in spirit if not in name. However, there are few countries that have such a definite national image, which would indicate that such symbols are not essential for the propagation of these values.

Campbell (1967) has spent much time investigating the use of terminology by in-groups to describe themselves, and the terminology they use to describe an out-group. He found that when traits are common to both in-group and out-group, the conditions of observation are such that the behaviour of one's own group is perceived in a different context from comparable behaviour on the part of the out-group. He gives as an example - Englishmen describing Englishmen could say that they are reserved and respect the privacy of others. An American describing an Englishman (for him, the out-group) could say he was snobbish, cold and unfriendly. Conversely the American might describe his in-group as friendly, out-going and open-hearted, whilst an Englishman might regard him as being intrusive, forward and pushy. This problem of terminology (and more particularly the emotive connotations of terminology) is one which still besets the field

of stereotyping research. However, Campbell's work does illustrate the radical difference that can exist about a group's 'own' image, and its images of other groups.

(vi) Definition and Theory in Stereotype Research

Definitions of stereotypes and stereotyping range from the highly simplex (c.f. Lippman 1922) to the highly comprehensive that attempt to incorporate many of the above sub-divisions. But as Campbell has pointed out (1967) "Stereotypes can be at one and the same time a reflection of both the character of the group holding the stereotype . . . and the character of the group being described", i.e. they can be at one and the same time heterostereotypical and autostereotypical.

The definitions that various investigators have put forward tend to reflect their own position and interests within the stereotyping field. Most investigators seem to be in agreement that stereotypes are evaluative judgements, assigning attributes to individuals on the basis of the class or category to which they belong, and that they should be defined in terms of consensus of opinion concerning these traits. One coherent definition of stereotypes comes from Karlins, Coffman and Walters (1969) who say that stereotypes are generalised impressions of groups "including sometimes direct experience with the members of the stereotyped group". Some definitions lay greater emphasis on the 'consensuality' aspect of stereotyping, e.g. "a

stereotype is a collection of trait names upon which a large percentage of people agree as being appropriate for describing some class of individual"; (Vinacke 1956) and this consensus is of integral importance in the analysis of stereotype content (see page 281). Others stress the fallacious nature of a stereotype, including such errors as an intrinsic part of the phenomena. "A stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category whose function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to a particular category" (Allport 1954) or "Stereotypes are attitudes composed bodily and uncritically without any basis in experience or knowledge" (Sherif and Cantril 1947). Secord (1964) also brings in the concept of error into his definition - he says that there are three characteristics of stereotypes:

- i. They are a categorisation of persons
- ii. There is a consensus on attributed traits
- iii. There is a discrepancy between attributed traits and actual traits.

Although to some extent both these definitions are applicable, there is not a sufficient body of evidence to uncritically accept the premise that stereotypes are always erroneous. However, as Traindis and Vassilou maintain, stereotypes may be 'inferior judgemental processes' (Fishman), but they are not necessarily contrary to fact, and may in fact be thought-saving ways of processing the environment.

Theory

It appears that there is no one coherent theory of stereotypes and stereotyping function. For the most part when they are not being confused with categories, they are regarded as being a fixed idea that accompanies a category (Lippman 1922), or as one of the by-products of the cognitive activities inherent in the process of categorisation, (Tajfel, Sheikh and Gardner 1964). However, there are several theories that deal with stereotyping as an entity.

Zawadski (1948) pointed out a common-place truth that very few investigators prior to this had acknowledged. This was that there was a need for a dualistic theory of prejudice and stereotyping. Hitherto it had been an unspecified assumption that stereotyped characteristics were always falsely attributed to the 'out' group. Zawadski maintained that it was necessary to look closely at both the characteristics of the subject of the stereotype as well as looking at the characteristics of the stereotyper. Assuming that the object of the prejudice is lily-white could lead to all sorts of false premises, and such assumptions are certainly against the kernel of truth hypothesis.

One of the main theories of stereotyping is the so-called 'Scape Goat theory' supported strongly by Lindzey (1950). All formulations of this theory assume that anger once engendered becomes displaced onto a (logically irrelevant) victim. Zawadski charts its development as follows:

- (i) Frustration generates aggression (hostility)
- (ii) Hostility becomes displaced from sources of aggression onto a defenceless group, (usually a minority group).
- (iii) This displaced aggression becomes rationalised by:
 - (a) blaming the innocent majority
 - (b) projecting guilty feelings onto a minority
 - (c) engaging the use of stereotypes.

Functionally the theory maintains that the individual high in prejudice has a certain amount of hostility or aggression that he has not been successful in reducing or acting out against the original object of frustration. The individual therefore reduces this aggression by re-directing it upon a more or less helpless member of a minority group. (The original formulation of the frustration/aggression hypothesis was propounded by Dollard, Doob, Miller et al 1939).

As a general explanation of prejudice and stereotyping, the theory has many limitations. It ignores the objective characteristics of the minority group. It does not explain the choice of a particular out-group, and cannot give any indication of the next victim of the hostility. It also fails to explain why no such displacement takes place in many personalities, and does not explain why stereotypes exist about groups who are not 'scape-goats'.

Another rationalistic theory of stereotyping is the 'Well-Earned Reputation theory'. The source of prejudice is said to lie in the objective characteristics of the subject. G. B. Johnson (1944) in his paper on stereotype development, says "The stereotype that a dominant group develops concerning the traits of a sub-ordinate group will be to some extent determined or based on the objective characteristics of the sub-ordinate group . . . if we can deduct from popular stereotypes the moral judgments and implications of inferiority, we may have left a body of belief that affords an insight into the traits of the sub-ordinate group". This somewhat optimistic view of the kernel of truth hypothesis seems to be confounded by the fact that stereotypes can and do change over time. As Kleinberg points out this can be the result of social political or economic change (c.f. La Pierre 1936; Shrieke 1936; Meenes 1943). Zawadski points out that such a theory does little to explain the differences in intensity and degree of prejudice felt at different times about the same out-group.

Asch (1952) feels that an extension of stereotype definition to include valid judgements is tantamount to emptying the term of all meaning. "To the extent that the identifications were correct they testify to the presence of impressions that are valid . . . Is there any better justification for referring to a valid impression of a social object as a stereotype than for calling the

meaning of a word or the addition of two numbers a stereotype?" (Asch) However, most investigators take a less extreme position, and Bogardus 1950, Vinacke 1956, Traindis and Vassilou 1967, all accept the idea that there is a kernel of truth in the majority of stereotypes, whilst at the same time admitting that it might be extremely difficult to prove experimentally such a position.

Bettleheim and Janowitz (1950) postulated a psychoanalytic explanation of stereotypes, saying that ethnic hostility is a projection of unacceptable inner strivings onto a minority group. They suggest that the stereotype of the Negro reflects our own 'id' impulses (lechery, laziness, aggressiveness, and slovenliness), and the Jewish stereotype reflects our own violations of the 'super-ego' (pride, deceit, unsocialised egotism, and grasping ambition). This theory has many grave drawbacks. Like many others it does not suggest reasons for the choice of an out-group, and their examples of Negro and Jewish stereotypes might not have so much relevance today as they did in 1950. Recent work on stereotypes suggests that more and more 'neutral' adjectives are apparent in stereotypes, rather than the traditionally more perjorative adjectives, and this finding does not seem to fit in well (at least on an overt level) with the idea that stereotypes are 'projections of unacceptable inner strivings'. (In many ways this psychoanalytic theory of stereotyping bears a close

resemblance to the scape goat theory.) Gardner and Taylor (1968) tend to view the stereotype as a cognitive filter which modifies information so that no inconsistencies are allowed through. Inconsistencies are not always suppressed at this level as Gardner and Taylor admit - they support their position by incorporating the idea of response-suppression; material that is incongruous with the stereotype tends to arouse feelings of incredulity and is therefore ignored in the assessment of the target person.

Fishman has attempted to group theories and ideas of stereotypes under four main headings:

- (a) Stereotypes as information contrary to fact
- (b) Stereotypes as Inferior judgemental processes
- (c) Stereotypes as Attitudinal rigidity
- (d) Stereotypes as Group Referents.

A. Stereotypes as Information contrary to Fact

Many writers have emphasized the erroneous aspects of stereotypy (Lippman 1922; Hayakawa 1950; Clarke 1949; Asch 1942; Centers 1951; La Pierre 1936 etc.), and although some attempts have been made to include also testably correct views, nonetheless the original perjorative connotations of many stereotypes is still strong.

The idea of stereotypes as information contrary to fact is a highly pervasive viewpoint in stereotype research. Fishman himself points out that it is impossible to

reconcile the many studies - some of which support the idea of a kernel of truth, and some of which negate the concept - until the scientific study of national character provides reliable data.

Some attempts have been made to determine the veracity of certain ethnic stereotypes. La Pierre (1936) set out to assess and check the content of the Armenian stereotype held by Americans. Briefly he found that the main dimensions of this stereotype were that Armenians were dishonest, parasitic and immoral, and invariably the cause of social friction. La Pierre checked the statistics for criminal occurrences and the statistics for the demands made upon the social services; he found that Armenians (who constituted approximately 6 per cent of the population) were involved in only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of police court cases, and made significantly fewer demands on the social services than did any other ethnic group.

Similarly, Humphrey (1945) attempted to check the veracity of the stereotypes of the Mexican American youth, and found that most of the basic premises of the stereotype had one thing in common - that they were all demonstrably false.

It therefore seems that it does not take a great deal of research to reveal that stereotypes do frequently involve gross misrepresentation, but as Fishman points out: "Two further phenomena become evident - (a) not all stereotypes reveal misinformation and (b) all stereotypes that do

reveal misinformation also reveal much more; so much so that they cannot be altered simply through the presentation of correct information".

B. Stereotypes as Inferior Judgemental Processes

The previous section has emphasized the content of stereotypes whilst this second category is more concerned with the mechanisms involved in the process of stereotyping. 'Inferior judgemental processes' are taken to refer to the 'economy' aspect of stereotyping. Bogardus explicitly states this in his claim that the varieties of persons and groups in the world are much too numerous to have each individual weigh every reaction of every person, minute by minute in terms of its meanings and merits. He maintains that error is added to error by the stereotyping procedure.

Lindesmith and Strauss (1949) mention this time-saving facility of stereotyping, but maintain that it is only achieved through faulty or incomplete implementation of man's 'reality-discovering machinery.' Stereotypes focus on one of a few aspects of personality and ignore many of the others - they are based, (or so many investigators who take this position maintain) on insufficient experience or observation and also faulty sampling.

Instead of reacting to individuals themselves, stereotyping proceeds by reacting largely to the fact of group-membership. Hayakawa (1950) distinguishes a

dimension that might be relevant here; he puts forward the idea that persons tending to stereotyped reactions are essentially word-minded individuals, governed in their behaviour by verbal associations. Thus "stereotypes are for all people some of the time, and for some of the people all of the time, substitutes for thought" (Hayakawa) (This latter point upholds the contention discussed on page 74 that a dimension classifying people as stereotypers and non-stereotypers can be identified.

C. Stereotypes as Attitudinal Rigidity

That stereotypes are often regarded as being rigid, unchanging phenomena, is implicit in the very word. It is not easy to infer flexibility of stereotyping simply from overt change - as with conformity this might simply be the expression of compliance rather than private acceptance. It seems reasonable at this point to make a distinction between 'constancy' of stereotypes, and 'rigidity' of stereotypes. When an individual accepts and endorses a stereotype as being relevant and useful for him, the whole of the stereotype is used and applied to any member of the stereotyped group in a rigid and unchanging way; - the individual either rationalises or ignores any discrepancies that might occur to disrupt the stereotypic conception that he holds. So to this extent a stereotype can be considered as rigid at any one point in time in a culture. However, it has been shown by many

investigators that stereotypes can and do change over time due to either social, political or economic pressures. (e.g. Shrieke (1936) pointed out that the Chinese stereotype in America changed from "the most worthy of our newly adopted citizens" to highly perjorative terms such as "cunning" and "parasitic", when the economic situation changed so that there was a very high proportion of non-immigrant unemployment). Thus fluidity is a function of stereotypes over time. Another example of the fluid nature of stereotypes is more difficult to scientifically assess, and this is the change over time of the connotations of different stereotypical terms; for instance the adjective 'musical' which appears in the 1933 Katz and Braly stereotype of the Negro might have had different connotations then, to those that might be attached to the inclusion of the same term in the 1974 stereotype of the Negro. However, to a large extent the 'changing' nature of connotations is a matter of inference rather than scientific fact.

Stereotypes are claimed to be attitudinal fixations because of their fundamental relationship to basic goals, motives, feelings and patterns of social interaction. However, rigidity is not a sine-qua-non of stereotypes, and stereotypes are not the only attitudes to possess the characteristics of goal-relatedness and emotional reinforcement. La Violette and Silvert (1951) put forward the

view that because stereotypes are attitudes, they have the attributes of organised modes of behaviour, expressing a functional state of readiness and are organised around and towards some given object or set of objects. (It should be noted that these 'special attitudes' are further distinguished by a significant amount of emotional flavour).

Rigidity may be an aspect of some stereotypes, but it need not be of all. This indicates that the term itself is somewhat inaccurate. Rigidity is more likely to be apparent at one point in time, than over a period of time. Fishman (1956) maintains that rigidity in stereotypes "is only an end-product which may have some emotional underpinnings".

D. Stereotypes and 'Group Relatedness'

The view that stereotypes have a vital function as group referents is very strongly held by both Bogardus and Hayakawa, though Bogardus is more restrained in his contentions. La Violette and Silvert have put forward the strongest case for stereotypes as indications and by-products of group belongingness. They see them as enabling an individual not only to manage his inter-personal and group relations, but also to express symbolically his group identifications through the use of such stereotypes. Fishman has reviewed the literature on stereotyping and concludes that: "A careful examination of the literature

has failed to reveal any attempts to define or employ the concept of social stereotypes without employing readily defined or recognised human groups, group leaders, or group symbols as objects or referents."

Social stereotyping need not be dependent on actual group membership; in many cases vicarious or reference group membership is sufficient for its acceptance and use, when triggered off by the proper word image or presence. The idea that stereotypes are important as group referents, has also been mentioned by Vernon (1963). He defines stereotyping as the attribution of characteristics that are associated with a particular group to a person who is seen as a specimen of that group. However, unlike many investigators, Vernon emphasises the valuable aspect of stereotyping; he mentions that though they are often fictitious and biased, and though they are always over simplified and often unreliable sources of information, "they do help us to get to know people more quickly and help to promote common reactions among members of the in-group who share the same stereotype". (Vernon) He does not mention that stereotypes might in some cases prevent any contact with a member of the stereotyped group, but has attempted to get away from the traditional idea that stereotypes are always iniquitous.

Diab (1962) also showed how stereotypes can act as group referents. He uses the concept to account meaningfully for the differences they found when their sample

of subjects were subdivided into religious and political group membership. They found that this produced significant differences in the stereotypes of certain national groups (e.g. Moslems and Christians differed in their assessment of Jews and the French), whereas when they had just divided subjects into different nationalities this difference had not been apparent. Their results would suggest that for their subjects religion and politics were more potent group referents than nationality, and would also suggest that it might be feasible to view stereotypes always from the point of view of what the individual regards as his own particular reference group.

This chapter has attempted to provide a broad general outline of the main ideas and areas of investigation within the field of person perception and stereotyping. The particular studies that have provided the main hypotheses for the experiments reported here are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Methodology

- (i) Outline of elicitory procedures
- (ii) Stereotype typologies and physiognomy
- (iii) Stereotypes, cognitive style, and personality variables

Outline of Elicitatory Procedures

The first empirical demonstration of national stereotypes was that of Katz and Braly (1933), with the very basic methodology of the adjective check-list. Up to this time, investigations of this phenomena had been of a qualitative nature with no attempts being made to assess empirically either stereotype content, or the degree of endorsement by subjects. Since this initial research, many other investigators have used the paradigm laid down by Katz and Braly, either in its original format, or by using variations in the stimuli that would be presented to the subject.

Gilbert (1951) replicated the Katz and Braly work, using a similar student population, and followed the original work in all ways, when he tried to analyse the effects of social science classes on the amount of stereotypy that was used by students. His results differed both quantifyingly and in quality from those of the original investigators, but still the fact that the adjective check-list methodology could elicit stereotypes showed through.

Other studies have not just been simple replications of the 1933 work (although the methodology can be regarded as being very similar). Saenger and Flowerman (1954) considered stereotyping as a possible causative factor in hostility and followed the adjective check-list paradigm in

attempting to test this hypothesis. They presented subjects with nine different groups (e.g. woman businessman, negro), and a list of 26 common traits which subjects had to indicate as being typical or atypical of the group in question. Similarly Baytoun and Byoune (1946/7) used the adjective check-list in their study of the content of Negro racial-national stereotypes, and perhaps most recently Maykovich (1972) has used the adjective allocation technique to determine the stereotypes of Whites, Negroes and Japanese in America. In the Middle East, Diab (1962) has investigated the stability of stereotypes assigned to thirteen national groups by Arabs, and for his research he too followed the original Katz and Braly paradigm.

All the above mentioned studies have followed the original methodology closely; firstly gathering adjectives from a population, in an unstructured way (i.e. by simply asking for the adjectives that the subjects felt were applicable to a certain given category), and then presenting these adjectives in the form of an adjective check-list to their test population, and asking them to indicate in some way those adjectives that they felt were applicable to the particular group in question. The ratings given were then scored for consensuality and those adjectives at the head of the 'consensuality hierarchy' were included as being stereotypical. Within each experimental design there are minor modifications to suit the particular purpose of the study. For the most

part however, the popular stimulus for use with the Katz and Braly paradigm, is a category label or heading.

However, the category label is not the only stimulus possible and some investigators have used photographic stimuli rather than verbal labels (e.g. Razran, Secord, Bevan and Dukes (1954), Secord 1958, Secord and Muthard 1955 etc.). Secord particularly has investigated physiognomic stereotypes and because of the emphasis of his work, infrequently uses the verbal label as a stimulus. A summary of Secord's typical method would be - the presentation of a photograph and a list of adjectival traits to a subject, asking him then to indicate which traits would be appropriate for the particular stimulus figure. Essentially this is a Katz and Braly methodology with a different stimulus involved. Razran (1950) also favoured photographs as eliciting stimuli in his work on changes in person perception when an ethnic surname was added. The drawback to this particular piece of work is Razran's failure to first elicit the relevant stereotype - thus there is no basis for comparison. (This criticism can also be levelled at the work of Secord, Bevan and Katz 1953).

Tape recordings of speech, moving pictures of individuals, drawn pictures of stimuli figures and situations are all stimuli that have been used in different stereotype elicitation procedures. They have an advantage over the standard

'category' label technique, in that they can be manipulated, allowing the effects of such variations to be assessed; another advantage is that they present the subject with a 'living' example of the group to be rated as opposed to the possibly less connotative stimuli of simple semantics.

The use of diverse stimuli and adjectival check-lists is not confined to the elicitation of racial or ethnic stereotypes. Grunes (1957) used a similar technique when investigating occupational stereotypes. He called in the 'Pick-a-job' Test; he described an individual by a series of adjectives and then asked his subjects what job the 'individual' was likely to hold. Occupational stereotypes have aroused quite a great deal of interest amongst investigators, yet the subjects is not as 'popular' as the study of racial stereotypes. One of the most common methods of studying occupational stereotypes seems to be that of grouping together or comparing different jobs - thus developing what could be called an 'Occupational Distance Scale'. Bendig and Hountras (1958) utilised this technique and combined it with an adjective check-list in their study of the stereotype of the research scientist. Grunes also used the 'grouping' technique. Here, subjects were given a long list of occupational titles to group that ranged from doctor to garbage collector. Grunes maintained that he was able to gain an understanding of the way an occupation was perceived by the way in which it was grouped with others - thus obtaining

a definition of common attributes. (Gonyes 1961, used a similar technique in his work with college freshmen.)

Occasionally, instead of asking subjects to check or produce adjectives for a certain occupation, individuals are asked to check statements instead. An example of this is the work of Martin, Mayo and McPherson (1967), when subjects were asked to estimate the proportion of different occupational groups who would agree with each of thirteen statements concerning status, work conditions, and work satisfaction.

The classic Asch paradigm (1946) of eliciting impressions through identical lists of adjectives, has also been used for eliciting occupational stereotypes. Davidson, Reissman and Myers (1962) replicated the Asch study but instead of using the original Asch differentiating dimension of 'warm/cold', they included the two opposing jobs of 'worker and manager'. They found that the two descriptions differed greatly in their content and maintained that this was due to the inclusion of these two terms.

All these methods, functionally if not in detail are similar to the Katz and Braly 'pioneer' methodology.

Apart from adjective check-lists and their variants, a popular method of eliciting stereotypes has been through the use of bi-polar adjectival scales. The Semantic

Differential format has often been used, in practice if not in name. Gundlach (1944) used ten personality traits placed with their opposites at either end of a seven-point scale. He maintained that pairs of adjectives used in this fashion, helped considerably in reducing the amount of overlap that is found, for example, in the Katz and Braly work - where a long list of sometimes 'overlapping' adjectives are presented. The Gardner research unit investigators are strong advocates of the Semantic Differential format, and have used this technique for virtually all their investigations. However, they call it the "Stereotype Differential" (1972). Their validation for the difference in terminology is because the task that the subject is set is different from that presented by Osgood (1952), and because the underlying dimensions of the 'stereotype differential' differ from the activity, potency and evaluational dimensions of the original semantic differential - for example 'imagery' is an important dimension for the stereotype differential. Whether this is sufficient validation for re-titling the test is somewhat equivocal. Gardner, Kirby, Gorospe and Villamin (1972) maintain that their results on this measuring device can be viewed as ethnic stereotypes by virtue of their comparability with those obtained by the Katz and Braly method.

An important aspect of the 'differential' format which is very necessary if personality differences in stereotypy are to be sought, is that this technique, whilst identifying

ethnic stereotypes, will still permit an index of individual differences in the tendency to ascribe a particular trait to a group.

Very often the semantic differential framework is used without notice being taken of the activity, potency and evaluative dimensions - thus elicitation can be regarded as being from a seven-point scale using dichotomous adjectives. Although the potency and activity dimensions of the original Osgood semantic differential format might not have great relevance for stereotypy research, the evaluative dimension certainly has, and Gardner (1972) has been able to isolate various bi-polar adjectives that seem to be very strongly evaluative (at least for the French-Canadian stereotype, e.g. hospitable/inhospitable; greedy/generous; reliable/unreliable etc.). The semantic differential has long been used in many ways other than for its original purpose and has proved to be a useful tool in attitude assessment, and attempts have been made to evaluate racial attitudes through its use. (Williams (1969) used it for ratings of colour names and the assessment of racial attitudes to see to what extent colour names could influence attitudes towards racial groups.)

Other methods of tapping stereotypes are through 'direct comparison' (Blake and Dennis 1943) though for the most part this method is usually used (and maybe should only be used) with a juvenile population. Such questions as

"Who is the more cheerful? Negro/White" are asked and the subject must respond with one or other of the alternatives. This work has contributed useful information to the subject of stereotype acquisition.

Other investigators have brought a new slant to elicitation procedures and Braun (1962) brought a projective element into his research when he presented his subjects with the Gordon Personal Profile and the Gordon Personality Inventory, instructing them to complete them as 'typical businessmen' or 'typical scientists'. Personality profiles have been used, and are likely to be used more frequently as the topic increases in vigour, for the study of autostereotypes and heterostereotypes. (Abate and Berrien 1967; Traindis and Vassiliou 1967). A similar method was used by Jones (1969) in his assessment of occupational stereotypes held by British sixth formers. Intuitively one might say that this method is more appropriate for eliciting occupational stereotypes than maybe national stereotypes, and certainly more appropriate for this area than for the stereotypes of dress style - which cannot be expressed in any but a visual way. Hamid (1968; 1972) reverted to a semi-adjective checklist method in his attempt to elicit 'dress style' stereotypes, using 'standardised' still photographs of females. (This allowed him to manipulate the dress variables he believed might influence physical attractiveness.)

Cahalan and Trager (1949) tried to get away from traditional procedures and used a free-ended question technique for eliciting stereotypes. Subjects were asked - "Do you think that Jews differ from other people in any ways other than religion?". The results, Cahalan and Trager maintained permitted detailed examination of the character of the stereotypes obtained in this way, and also made possible a comparison of these stereotypes and relative anti-semitism as measured by a specially constructed scale. The various stereotypes offered by people were classifiable into 'unfavourable', 'favourable' and 'neutral'.

In a different realm of stereotyping research (that of sex stereotypes), Fernberger (1947) produced a neat method of elicitation by presenting subjects with a story in which spaces were left which could be filled with either of the words man/woman - this method, he maintained, successfully showed the persistence of differences attributable to sex stereotypes.

The most recent attempt to bring a completely new method of tapping stereotypes to the fore, is that made by Jahoda (1966). Instead of the usual check-lists or scaler methods, Jahoda presented a list of informative statements concerning political, religious, economic and social aspects of a country - in this case Poland. The statements, and percentages of agreement on the statements, were taken from

the results of an attitude survey made on Polish students some years previously. These statements and percentages were then presented to Jahoda's student subject population. These subjects were then asked which of a list of countries they thought this particular pattern of response would be applicable to. Jahoda then went on to determine which particular informational aspects his subjects depended upon most when making their judgements (e.g. religious aspects, political aspects etc.). This technique has great potential for investigating how far stereotypes are based on factual information, but it does leave out of account the part played by misperceptions, exaggeration of the 'kernel of truth' and emotional bias.

With all these different methodologies - however sophisticated the analysis might appear, the basic underlying premise that stereotypes do exist and are measurable, requires an analysis that can estimate what degree of consensus is apparent in the judgements made by the subjects. Katz and Braly used a simple counting technique to determine the percentage agreement as to the applicability of a particular trait, and although the methods of more recent investigators (e.g. Gardner) seem more sophisticated, the fundamentals of determining the initial stereotype are the same. If some degree of consensuality (usually arbitrarily selected) is absent, then a particular trait cannot be regarded as being stereotypical - the role of consensus in

analysis has been discussed in greater detail on Page 281 .

In the particular set of experimental work to be reported here, two methods of eliciting stereotypes were used - that of the adjective check-list (in a variant form), and a semantic differential format (also in variant form). Greater detail will be found in the experimental section of this report but briefly it can be mentioned that these methods were chosen because there seemed a good chance, from previous research, that they would elicit stereotypes, and if they did so, would also allow some kind of accurate measurement to be applied.

Stereotype Typologies

The stereotype typologies used most often in previous experiments, have been those of race, occupation, dress style, proper names, and body build. Greatest emphasis has been placed on the first two of these types, but the latter three, with the work of Hamid, (1968,) (on dress style); Shoenfeld, (1942,) (on stereotypes of proper names), and Lerner and Pool (1972) (on body build stereotypes), have made attempts to extend stereotypy research into other less traditional areas.

There is a vast bulk of work on racial stereotypes,

principally North American, which has attempted to assess their influence in prejudice (Allport 1954), their falsity (La Pierre 1936; Humphrey 1945), their susceptibility to change over time, (Prothro 1954) and their influence on communication between groups (Chandra 1967; Kleinberg 1952; Buchanan 1954). Racial stereotypes have also been studied as instruments of propaganda (Barghoorn 1953; Buchanan and Cantril 1953) and studied to see how political events can ^{EXERT} ~~affect~~ direct influence on stereotype change. Seago (1947) was concerned with this latter point and investigated the American stereotype of the Japanese before and after Pearl Harbour, and noted the sometimes radical shift of content on these occasions (greatest change was, as expected, for those individuals who had had personal involvement of some sort with the bombing); similarly, Peres and Levy (1969) were instigated by the Arab/Israeli war of 1967 to assess what stereotypes were held within Israel of Jews and Arabs - here again the war had produced a direct shift of opinion against the Arabs.

There are very few studies whose sole contention is the assessment of stereotype content - this usually occurs as a by-product of a particular piece of work (e.g. those aims that have been presented above). Some attempts have been made to assess the 'other side of the coin' of racism e.g. Cothran (1951) and Baytoun and Byonne (1947) where the authors have attempted to determine the stereotypes of whites

that are held by Negroes.

The second most popular area of stereotypy research is concerned with what can be loosely termed as 'occupational stereotypes'. This term includes the perception of general occupations (Rice 1926; Osgood and Stagner 1941, Secord Bevan and Dukes 1953; Jones 1969), and also with more specific stereotypes concerning workers and management. (Davidson, Reissman and Myers 1962; Haire and Grunes 1950).

Haire and Grunes discovered that great difficulty was experienced by respondents who were told to view the worker as 'intelligent', among other descriptive attributes. They found that such an asset would not 'fit' into their subjects' pre-conception of that occupational category, and that they offered a range of rationalisations to explain away what was, to them, an inconsistency. Davidson, Reissman and Myers consider this inability to conceive of the worker as intelligent as a middle-class bias, and discuss it in these terms. The Rice paper (1926) was of a different calibre altogether and attempted a more projective approach; he used photographs of comparatively little-known men, to study the associations between appearance and occupation. He found that a Russian ambassador might be mistaken for a U.S. Senator, but never for a labour leader - and that these judgements were significantly higher than chance expectation. (The influential factors seemed to concern modes of dress; neatness of appearance; presence of beard etc.)

As Jones (1969) has pointed out, stereotypes of occupations can be extremely harmful if fallacious, because they can act as a barrier to the 'correct' selection of a job, and also as a barrier to efficient communication within industry. They can also prove detrimental within university populations, even amongst such ostensibly 'sophisticated' subjects. Osgood and Stagner⁽¹⁹⁴¹⁾ discovered that college students assign such positive characteristics as 'having brains', 'leadership', 'excitingness' and 'self assuredness' to prestige occupations; at the same time low-level occupations are seen as evincing the positive characteristics ~~as~~^{of} kindness, congeniality and idealism. However, Osgood and Stagner concluded that students were prone to rate high-level occupations high in all personality characteristics. Neufeld (1972) found that even more insidious stereotypes existed among students concerning 'faculties', e.g. distinct stereotypes existed about Arts, Science and Engineering faculties. Fink and Cantril (1937) also found that distinct stereotypes existed about various American colleges and that certain traits seemed inextricably linked with being a 'Yale' man, or a 'Vassar' woman, and that these stereotypes were apparent across a wide range of the colleges tested. Interaction difficulties between manager and worker, and the role of stereotypes in such problems, have been studied by Bozzone Meyers and York (1972) and Traindis (1959).

Thus the areas of racial or ethnic stereotypes and

occupational stereotypes account for a large part of the literature on stereotypes and stereotyping mechanisms, but some other topics (as has been mentioned earlier) have received study.

Stereotypes can exist for any object that has a 'social reality' for the individual or group (however broad or narrow the latter is), and stereotypes other than racial and occupational have been isolated by investigators. One of the most interesting, but perhaps most fluid stereotypes is that of dress style. Hamid (1968 and 1972) has been one of the leading investigators in this field. These two papers are particularly note-worthy. The 1972 paper deals with physical attractiveness and how much of this is related to style of dress (finding that extraneous variables were more potent factors in determining attractiveness than intrinsic physical cues). The 1967 paper is also interesting in that it is concerned with student image and degree of contact. He found that when four cartoons 'typical' of different types of student were presented (the 'types' being differentiated by dress style), greatly differing traits were attributed to them. Subjects (from the general public) were asked to choose the traits first and then the cartoon. He found the lesser the contact with students, the more reactionary was the subjects' view of the student. It seems reasonable to assume both on the basis of the Hamid work (and also the work of Thornton 1944, on the effects of such 'non-personal' items

such as spectacles), that dress style and general apparel will produce fairly definite stereotypes, even though they may be of a more fluid nature than the stereotypes of other categories.

Another area where stereotypes have been shown to exist, but which is also an area which is fluid in nature, is that of Christian name stereotypes. Schoenfeld (1942) was interested in finding out whether stereotypes existed about Christian names - he was particularly interested in this area because if his thesis was correct, the kernel of truth hypothesis (which had very great credence in the 1940s) would be confounded. He found that definite stereotypes did exist about such names as Richard (regarded as being intelligent) and Agnes (regarded as being spinsterish). This work on the potency of Christian names has not been as extensive as it might have been, which is surprising in that it offers in many ways more scope than the topic of ethnic stereotypes, for determining the truth or falsity of the topic.

Stereotypes and cognitive style and personality variables

Many investigators of person perception and stereotyping have been interested in, (judging from their stimulus material) the nature of indirect person perception - where limitations set upon the amount of stimulus material available to

the subject, is often severe. The greater the limitations placed on cue availability, the more impoverished the stimulus becomes, and the greater is the necessity for the individual to rely on his own implicit personality theories which have been acquired through past experience and learning. These 'implicit personality theories' that each individual holds, are also a product of his own personality and perceptual style. These 'perceptual styles' have received much attention with regards to person perception - the differences in perception between authoritarians and non-authoritarians for example (Frenkel-Brunswik 1949), repressors and sensitisers, sharpeners and levellers (Klein 1951), field dependancy and independancy (Witkin 1962) - and how these affect judgements. Broadly (and in a very over-simplified way) the differences could be summarised in the following manner. Some individuals seek out and are able to assimilate a large and varied amount of information about stimulus persons and can integrate this to form a complete judgement; others however find such a ⁵wealth of information (both compatible and incompatible) confusing and unnecessary and thus they reduce the amount of information they use to a minimum. Whether one approach is more useful and/or leads to more accurate assessments than another is difficult to assess - Allport (1961) and Estes (1938) have both claimed that judges who do adopt an analytic reflective kind of observation of people are often less accurate in assessing them than those who react by a more global intuitive process.

The idea that different types of personality or perceptual style have an effect on impression formation and person perception, is also a relevant idea for stereotypy research. Is there a category of people who are prone to use stereotypes to a greater extent than others, as a means of clarifying the stimuli they receive - thus making judgement easier? The research literature on personality and cognitive style would seem to suggest that this is a feasible idea, although no 'direct' research has been conducted on this topic.

Several investigators have reported differences between repressors and sensitisers (Altrocchi 1961, Gordon 1957, Lazarus, Erikson, and Fonda 1951). A 'repressor' is someone who is unable to verbalise unpleasant or threatening aspects of his experience; who scores highly on defensiveness scales but who has little manifest anxiety. Sensitisers have typically been found to show more differentiation between stimulus persons (and therefore it might be hypothesised that they would be less likely to use stereotypes than repressors).

In the field of personality style research, Authoritarianism is perhaps one of the most obvious dimensions which might provide a comparison level for stereotypers and non-stereotypers, (stereotypers being those individuals who might use stereotypes as an integral part of their implicit person-

ality theory). Jones (1954) found that authoritarianism does play an important role in first impression formations, saying "Generally authoritarians are more insensitive to the personality of others", and "show a general lack of insight into others, and a relatively high need to think of themselves as belonging to the 'in' group". This finding is borne out by Livesley and Bromley (1973) and their work on person perception in children and adults, when they say authoritarians "appear to be less sensitive in their perception of other people . . . (and) when forming impressions they make more use of external characteristics and cues such as social class, than do non-authoritarians." This lesser sensitivity could possibly be because authoritarians tend to have less cognitive differentiation than do non-authoritarians. One of the traits that is symptomatic of the Authoritarian personality is an abhorrence of ambiguous information, with a tendency to see everything in black and white terms - be it people, religion, law, politics etc.; and also the inability to integrate conflicting information about individuals. This being so, the idea of lesser cognitive differentiation for authoritarians seems to be borne out by Nidorf and Crockett (1965) - "Subjects with highly differentiated cognitive systems appear to be more aware of positive and negative attributes in the same person . . . they are able to integrate conflicting information better than are subjects with less differentiated systems".

The concept of authoritarianism is of Freudian origin, with an emphasis on the mechanism of projection - a mechanism that is frequently mentioned in connection with stereotypes - Centers (1951) says "In perceiving with a mind-orientation of stereotypes, we hold as it were a mirror up to events, so that what is perceived is largely a reflection of ourselves rather than of objective realities". Bettelheim and Janowitz (1964) (see previously) have postulated a theory that the traditional stereotypes of the Negro and the Jew are in turn projections of our Id and Super-ego impulses. Thus the relationship between authoritarianism and stereotyping bears examination on more than one level.

A perceiver characteristic that has received and aroused considerable attention in recent years is the complexity or simplicity of cognitive structures. It appears to be logically necessary from the definition of this attribute that it influences person perception. A 'complex' person is one who employs a wide variety of ways to process the information he receives about his world, whereas the cognitively simple individual makes use of a limited set of processing tendencies. The framework of cognitive structure is defined by Harvey, Hunt and Schroeder (1961) first in terms of the number of dimensions the person typically employs (differentiation) and secondly in terms of the ways in which these dimensions are inter-related (flexibility of 'integration'). Complexity is a function of both of these. This

work places great emphasis on integration whereas Bieri's work (1953), for example, places greater stress on differentiation.

This idea of cognitive differentiation and its potential use for distinguishing between personality types seems to be particularly relevant to stereotyping in person perception.

Witkin (1962) describes two cognitive systems which require two levels of differentiation, which he calls, 'field dependence' and 'field independence'. . . . "A field dependent/independent dimension of perception, reflects differences in ability to apprehend an item as discrete from its background, and to overcome an embedding context in perceiving an item within it. Greater or more limited ability in this regard has now been shown to be a general characteristic of an individual's cognitive functioning - of his intellectual activity as well as of his perceptions. We have labelled the extremes of this broad cognitive dimension, the 'analytical field approach' and the 'global field approach'". His work in this area has been extensive, trying to show the evolution of differentiation from childhood through to adulthood and has related it to such things as self-image, perceptual discriminatory ability etc., but has not taken this concept into the field of person perception or impression formation and certainly has not applied it to the

idea of stereotyping. Yet there seems to be no valid reason why this should not occur. To the extent that the research tentatively suggests that consensuality as to stereotype content is only partial, and to the extent that it is also acknowledged that 'social' stereotypes occur that either co-exist with or exist independently of 'idiosyncratic' stereotypes, it would seem reasonable to postulate that these distinctions reflect the degree of differentiation that the individual uses in judgements of others. (Kelly (1955) would say that this reflects the number of constructs that the individual has available to him, and which are relevant to him.)

Rokeach talks about rigidity and flexibility of thinking as distinguishing between individuals. Fishman (1956) also speaks of rigidity, but with particular reference to the stereotype, (as he points out, it is implicit in the word stereotype - stereos being the Greek word for rigid or unchanging.) Some authors have maintained that rigidity is an integral part of stereotyping, citing as evidence their stability over time. Fishman prefers to support the view that this rigidity (or unalterableness) of stereotyping is a form of coping with the environment rather than a rigidity of attitudinal content. This contention is roughly equatable to the idea of differentiation and the need for perceiving stability in the environment. Other writers have dealt with environmental 'coping' mechanisms; Smith (1956)

speaks of the exceptionally 'world minded' and the 'exceptionally nationalistic' individual - two typologies which he says seem to parallel the typologies of extreme authoritarianism and extreme non-authoritarianism. Others speak of xenophilic and xenophobic individuals (relating this to ethnocentrism - Rokeach (1960)). All such typologies seem to rotate around this idea of individuals differing in the degree to which they need and utilise information. Differences in perceptual and cognitive style will influence the way in which individuals make their assessments of others - and it could therefore be postulated that there are individuals who can be regarded as being 'stereotypers' and those who can be regarded as 'non-stereotypers'. The idea that because of the nature of an individual's cognitive or personality style, stereotyping might generalise (i.e. if an individual stereotypes one group, he will also stereotype another), has only very recently been taken up, and when this present research was begun - nobody since Hartley (1946) had attempted to investigate the notion. In 1972 however, Gardner, Kirby, Gorospe and Villamin discussing the development of the technique that they now call the 'Stereotype Differential', decided that 'generalisability' was an aspect of stereotypy that had not been investigated and using material gathered by others of their team as a validation (notably Gardner Taylor and Feenstra 1970, on stereotypes and their relations to attitudes, and the work of Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor 1968), they incorporated the concept of 'generalisability' as

a testable hypothesis. The information upon which they based their hypothesis was their own research, which suggested that the stereotypes of ethnic groups were largely unitary (in that subjects who adopted one part of the stereotype tended to adopt it all). Earlier, Hartley's investigation (1946) had suggested that generalisability occurred across racial stimulus areas, but Gardner, did not take account of this particular work, considering the unitariness of stereotype endorsement as sufficient validation for testing the hypothesis (i.e. do subjects who stereotype one group, also stereotype another?).

The concept of generality or generalisability, has always been regarded as important and central to the study of object perception. We generalise a shape such as a rectangle to such things as a table, a notice board, and windows etc. None of these seem to have any tangible link except shape. Perhaps the common linkage between stereotypes is culture based or biased - thus allowing generality to occur. The role of culture has often been mentioned in stereotypy studies (see previously on page 25), Centers 1951 holds that "stereotypes . . . constitute one of the clearest examples of socially and culturally acquired cognitive structures which shape perception and thought in their own distorted image".

The generality of stereotypes might be regarded as an

implicit truth of some theories of stereotyping and prejudice. If the 'kernel of truth' theory of stereotypes is held as being fundamental to the explanation of all kinds of stereotypes, then it could be reasoned that 'generality' if it exists (as Gardner et al believe) is simply the recognition of the 'truth' component of each stereotype. Although this is an interesting idea, it would be extremely difficult to validate. As has been mentioned earlier stereotypes exist about a multiplicity of items and objects; some of which have only a tenuous foothold in the realms of truth or reality (e.g. the stereotypes of dress style and christian name).

The systems that have been mentioned here as having been examined by investigators, as differentiating cognitive and personality style, are all functionally dichotomies which contrast inner self with outer environment. Apart from those mentioned above, could be noted the dimensions of internal/external locus of control; and extraversion and introversion. Above all these dichotomies imply that man's environment is basically homogenous and that specification of those particular kinds of environmental objects to which an individual orientates himself is unnecessary. For the study of the use of stereotypes by individuals it would seem to be a useful procedure to determine what environmental objects an individual does orientate himself towards. An attempt to determine the nature of an individual's environmental orientation has been made recently by Little (1972). He has

attempted to produce a scale (the Thing-Person Scale) which seeks to answer this precise question. In the assessment of extraversion it has long been the practice to 'scale' individuals in terms of their 'orientation' inwards to their own thoughts and feelings, and outwards to their own environment. Little asks the question "to what kinds of environment do extraverts extravert themselves?". Eysenck's theory like that of Jung, leaves unspecified the nature of the environmental stimuli sought by the extravert.

Traditionally 'extraversion' research has taken an 'equal status' view of environmental objects - it would seem that with this point of view environmental stimuli and objects are interchangeable and 'functionally equivalent'. Yet, as Little maintains, it could be of great importance to determine whether extraverts orientate themselves towards people or things in their social environment - " . . . persons while arguably the most salient identifiable objects in our surroundings, are not the only objects of psychological significance. Non-human objects are becoming increasingly recognised as having psychological significance beyond their obvious life-support and orientation functions". (Little 1972) This postulate would have great relevance for stereotypy research in that an extraversion/introversion dichotomy might be too gross a dimension to warrant expectations of differences between a potential dimension of stereotypers and non stereotypers, whereas a test that was concerned (as

is that of Little) with social and non-social interaction (as opposed to orientation towards the internal and external world) would be more likely to be relatable to a stereotyper/non-stereotyper facility. Individuals who do not rely heavily on stereotypes in their assessment of others would be expected to score more highly on the P scale of the Little test, than those who depend more on stereotype usage in their assessment methods. Little distinguishes four possible quadrants of scores on the P (person) and T (thing) scales. Those who score high on P and high on T - known as generalists; those who score low on P and low on T - known as non-specialists with individuals scoring high on P and low on T being called Person specialists, and those scoring high on T and low on P being called Thing specialists. It would appear that it is these two latter groups that have the greatest relevance for an attempt to relate the amount of stereotype usage to personality variables.

This, therefore, has been the research that has helped to formulate the hypotheses tested in this set of experimental work. A summary of these hypotheses appears below.

Summary of Hypotheses

(Not all hypotheses are tested for each experiment, and some sub-hypotheses tested in the experiments are not given here - detailed explanations of the hypotheses tested are

given at the head of each experiment.)

1. That subjects will produce stereotypical adjectives when presented with 'racial' stimulus figures.
2. That subjects will produce stereotypical adjectives when presented with occupational stimulus categories.
3. That subjects will produce stereotypical adjectives when presented with Christian Name stimuli.
4. That subjects will produce stereotypical adjectives when presented with different dress styles.

These first four hypotheses although seemingly simple, since previous research has already given grounds for believing them, form necessary 'steps' which have to be checked for strength before the following hypotheses can be tested.

5. That if individuals endorse the stereotypical adjectives of one category, they will also endorse the stereotypical adjectives of one or more of the other categories.
6. That a stereotyper/non-stereotyper dimension of personality can be identified.

These two hypotheses are justified by the work done on cognitive and personality style.

7. That scores obtained on the person and thing scales of the Little Person/Thing scale, will be relatable to stereotype endorsement scores.

Experiment One

This initial pilot study, designed to elicit stereotypes to racial stimuli, utilised the 1933 Katz and Braly technique of adjective allocation as a basic methodology.

Choice of Subjects: The subject population was made up of first year psychology students at the beginning of their course. Altogether twelve subjects were used. Earlier studies (such as that of Gilbert 1951) emphasised the point that university students may hold or conform to a liberal ideal; this may have been influenced by the increase of social science courses within universities, and the enlargement of the student population. Variations were made to the basic method, to take account of and control for this variable.

Construction of Technique: A Katz and Braly-type questionnaire was prepared, that included many of the adjectives that were utilised in the original format of 1933, and also some of the adjectives from the Warr, Faust and Harrison (1967) 'British Ethnocentrism Scale'. However, the original technique was modified, because of the nature of the subject population, and these adjectives were presented in the form of descriptive statements, about a mythical person 'X', who could be of any race or either sex.

Choice of Stimuli: Photographs were used as the eliciting stimuli in this experiment, instead of the more conventional 'race' titles, because it was postulated that they would be less emotive for a student population. The twelve photographs used in this study were obtained from various Fleet Street and governmental photograph libraries. They were selected so that they covered the age ranges of young, middle-aged and old; and they were chosen so that they were of both sexes, and were of coloured and white racial groupings.

The twelve photographs showed the following people:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1. Coloured Zambian female | (young) |
| 2. Coloured Zambian male | (young) |
| 3. White female | (young) |
| 4. White male | (middle-aged) |
| 5. Coloured Ghanain female | (middle-aged) |
| 6. White female | (young) |
| 7. White male | (young) |
| 8. Nigerian male (with scarification) | (young) |
| 9. Pakistani female | (young) |
| 10. White male | (middle-aged) |
| 11. White female | (old) |
| 12. Coloured male | (old) |

These photographs were dry mounted so that they could be easily handled, and were numbered on the reverse for ease of

identification. (Permission was obtained for their use, but not for their publication, so they cannot be included in the thesis although they are available for private inspection.)

Format and Instructions: The subjects were then given their answer booklets containing the descriptive sentences, and given the following instructions:

"Given in this booklet are a list of statements concerning 'X', who could be of any nationality or male or female. Please read through these statements very carefully. A series of photographs will be given to you, and these too should be studied carefully. What I want you to do is to allocate those statements that seem to 'fit' the photographs by placing the number of it, (you will find this on the back of the photograph), alongside the statement. Thus one statement might be all that you consider appropriate for that particular photograph, or, alternatively, you might feel that eight or nine of the statements might be appropriate. There is no limit to the number of the statements that can be applied to any one photograph.

"When making your judgements, would you also consider what statements might be applied to the photographs by the man in the street. When making your allocations, please circle the numbers you personally consider to be fitting for the photographs, leaving the allocations that you think would be made by A.N. Other uncircled."

Each subject was tested individually and no time limit was set for the completion of the task. Any comments made by the subjects during the course of the experiment were noted.

Analysis of Results

The comments made by the subjects and the time that was necessary for the completion of the task, determined the experimenter to conclude the experiment after testing twelve subjects. The ratings were then analysed according to the original Katz and Braly method, which consisted of a frequency count method of determining consensuality. Adjectives were judged as being consensual, if there was agreement at the $\frac{2}{3}$ cut-off level; (i.e. if eight out of the twelve subjects agreed that the adjective was applicable to a certain category). This was considered to be a better cut-off point than $\frac{1}{2}$, because it would eliminate to some extent random judgements. This judgement of consensuality is stringent - more so than that proposed by Katz and Braly, (they regarded the first ten adjectives in terms of percentages, as being stereotypical, no matter how low the percentage agreement was). Possibly Katz and Braly accepted such a loose analysis because they never did define exactly what a stereotype was.

Results and Discussion of Results

Many variables inherent in the photographs themselves,

(or rather in their composition), could have affected the way in which subjects made their allocations of adjectival statements. Some of the subjects mentioned these photograph variables during the course of the experiment. This indicated that they were making factual judgements on the content of the photographs, thus making the test lose its intended projective nature. The variables listed below might be responsible for some of the adjectives that were produced as being stereotypical.

Variables inherent in the photographs themselves
that could have affected the way in which subjects
made their judgements

* comment made by a subject

Photograph One

Multi-patterned clothing*
Marriage ring*
Low hair line
Serious Expression*

Photograph Two

Conservatively dressed*
Background of books, indicating study
Smiling expression*

Photograph Three

Variables fewer because of standard passport
photograph stance
Expression neutral

Variables continuedPhotograph Four

Passport photograph, therefore fewer variables
Conservatively dressed
Spectacles*

Photograph Five

Smiling expressing
Westminster Abbey as background - indicating
travel*

Photograph Six

Expression neutral/smiling

Photograph Seven

Expression Neutral
Tie slightly crooked*

Photograph Eight

Expression neutral/severe
Scarification*
Close cropped head*

Photograph Nine

Traditional dress*
Serene expression*
Looks distinctly Asiatic, therefore possibility
of pre-knowledge of allegiance to family ties

Photograph Ten

Jolly expression (around eyes and mouth)*
Tie askew*
Hair receding slightly, also greasy looking*

Variables continuedPhotograph Eleven

Expression neutral/serene
Conservatively dressed*
Spectacles*
Looks old*

Photograph Twelve

Conservatively dressed*
Expression serious*
Aesthetic type face*

It was decided that if photographs were to be used in any other experiment, such powerful incidental cues would have to be eliminated.

The number of ratings from the subjects for the six 'coloured' photographs was greater than those produced for the six 'white' photographs. Thirteen adjectives met the criterion necessary for being acceptable as stereotypical, whereas only four adjectives achieved this for the white stimulus photographs.

Sub-table A

Table of adjectives produced by the twelve subjects
as being applicable to the coloured and white stimu-
lus figures

Coloured Stimulus Photographs

Loyal to family ties
Dresses brightly
Naive
Superstitious
Radical
Nationalistic
Strong
Individualistic
Courteous
Faithful
Neat and tidy
Dresses conservatively
Industrious

White Stimulus Photographs

Loyal to family ties
Dresses conservatively
Reserved
Neat and tidy

.

Adjectives that overlap the two categories

Loyal to family ties
Dresses conservatively
Neat and tidy

The adjectives that overlap the two categories cannot be regarded as being stereotypical of either group and are therefore excluded.

It was decided to conclude this experiment prematurely because it became evident from the subjects' comments and their general demeanour during the experiment, that there were many variables inherent in the study that were affecting the judgements that the subjects were making.

The variables inherent in the photographs themselves have already been mentioned; fatigue and boredom were two other variables that could have affected results. There were twelve photographs and for each photograph, the subject had to scan fifty adjectival statements to find which he thought was applicable to the particular photograph. Not only were they required to do this for their own reactions, but also for their conceptions of what A.N. Other's reactions would be. This took a considerable time, and about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the subjects said that they found having to estimate the reactions of A.N. Other, the most difficult part of the task to complete. On average each subject took about 55 minutes to complete the assessment, and many showed signs of impatience when coming to the end of it. Thus it appeared necessary to either shorten the existing experiment, or to produce an alternative shorter test rather than leaving it

in its original format.

As can be seen from the list of stereotypical adjectives elicited for the coloured photographs, (presented in sub-table A) there was a case where two adjectives were elicited that were in fact to some extent contradictory - i.e. dresses brightly/dresses conservatively. This is probably a product of seeing variables other than the face, and the fact that dress style was not kept constant. In all the photographs, part of the dress was visible and therefore the adjectives were allocated factually.

Three adjectives coincided over the two categories, which indicated that they were not stereotypical for any one particular group (i.e. 'loyal to family ties'; 'dresses conservatively'; 'neat and tidy'). If these adjectives are discarded (as they must be, for they cannot be logically included as being stereotypical of one group or another), then the remaining adjective 'reserved' must be regarded as being the only stereotypical adjective elicited for the white photographs, through the Katz and Braly methodology in this experiment. (One qualification should be added here: from the results produced, one cannot deduce the possible connotative meanings that each adjectival phrase carries with it, and therefore it is possible (though unlikely) that the same phrase is used in two different ways for the two different groups, and therefore should be included as being

stereotypical for both groups. Similarly 'reserved' is the only adjective, technically, applicable to the white stimulus category - however it might carry with it such connotations as placid, sensitive etc., but which cannot be made explicitly because of the structure of the test.)

The lack of overt consensual opinion as to what adjectival traits characterise the white photographs, seems to be contrary to the Deaux work (1968), where he maintains that in cases of little consensus, there is usually a lack of knowledge about the group being rated. This cannot be held to be true in this case, because all the subjects were white.

The idea of asking subjects to allocate the adjectives that they thought A.N. Other would make, was not successful. No consensual judgements were found, and some subjects omitted this part of the instructions entirely; others expressed dissatisfaction at being set such a task.

Of all the possible adjectives that might have been produced as stereotypical for a 'white' stimulus, 'reserved' seems very appropriate, and is an adjective that has occurred in the stereotype of the group found by other investigators. For the 'coloured' stimuli, 'superstitious' and 'naive', bear some resemblance to the original Katz and Braly findings - but the Katz and Braly stereotype of the

negro is not totally upheld.

In conclusion, it would seem that an unmodified Katz and Braly methodology with photographs as stimuli would not be the most appropriate method of tapping ethnic stereotypes. The aims of this experiment were not completely fulfilled and a further experiment was therefore designed using a different approach.

Experiment Two

For this experiment, a modification of the Osgood semantic differential scale was used. This technique has two advantages over the 'adjective production' procedure, and the 'adjective check-list' methodology, in that it is less time-consuming to complete, and also eliminates to some extent the amount of overlap often found in the former methods. With the semantic differential format, dichotomous adjectival sets are used - thus the individual can make choice-judgements, as opposed to judging each adjective separately.

These were the hypotheses tested in this experiment:

1. That stereotypes exist about race.
2. That stereotypes exist about occupations.
3. That stereotypes exist about dress style.
4. That stereotypes exist concerning Christian Names.
5. That the sex of a stimulus figure will affect the stereotype.
6. That individuals who endorse the stereotype of one group will also endorse the stereotype of another group.
7. That there will be a relationship between stereotype score and the Brian Little 'Person/Thing' test score.

8. That a stereotyper/non-stereotyper personality dimension can be shown to exist.

Choice of Stimuli: Four stimulus categories were used to elicit responses in this experiment. These were the categories of race, dress style, christian name and occupation; the choice being made on the basis of the experimental work that has been conducted on these particular typologies. (See Page 62 for discussion of stereotype typologies.) The wide range of experimental work on stereotype content has shown that stereotypes exist in these areas, and these areas were chosen to show whether, given that stereotypes can be elicited about these categories, generality occurs across them. The rationale behind the notion of generalisation has already been discussed under the heading of stereotypes and cognitive style (see Page 67).

A. Within each of the four categories were four stimulus figures. The four racial stimuli were photographs of one black male, one black female, one white male, one white female; thus making it possible to see whether a black/white stereotype existed, and also to see whether the sex of the stimulus figure had any effect on their content. The photographs were four of the original twelve used in the previous adjective check-list experiment.

The drawback to using these photographs originally was

that they contained too many extraneous variables, so that subjects' judgements instead of being projective were factual. This problem was overcome by drymounting the photographs and putting a masking frame over them, leaving only the face visible. This enabled all unnecessary cues to be eliminated. As far as possible the photographs selected had 'neutral' to 'semi-smiling' expressions. These photographs were then re-photographed and presented as slides. The four racial photographs were:

1. Nigerian male (with scarification) - neutral expression (face only) - young.
2. Zambian female - semi-smiling; young; face only.
3. White male - semi-smiling; middle-aged; face only.
4. White female - neutral expression; young; face only.

B. The dress style category was another section for which photographs were used instead of category labels. These photographs had been obtained from various press libraries, and contained intrinsically fewer extraneous variables*. The expressions were again neutral to semi-smiling and showed full-length studies of various people. These photographs were simply dry-mounted and presented as slides. The stimuli

* Permission had been obtained to use them but not to publish them. They are available for private inspection.

showed two males and two females wearing either 'formal' or 'casual' dress. Thus these comparisons were possible: formal male/formal female; casual male/casual female - for comparison of sex differences; formal male/casual male; formal female/casual female - for comparison of dress style. The previous experimentation on dress style (Hamid 1968 and 1972) had been concerned with mainly female dress style - so this inclusion of male dress was a relatively new idea. Confusion could be caused if simple labels of 'formal' and 'casual' dress were used (- a wide range of idiosyncratic connotations could be applied to them), and photographs appeared to be a good method of controlling for this eventuality - thus presenting the same stimulus to each subject. The four dress style photographs were:-

1. Formal male (bowler hat, suit) - neutral expression
2. Casual male (hippy-style dress) - neutral expression
3. Formal female (evening dress) - neutral/semi-smiling
4. Casual female ('light' dress and hat) - semi-smiling

C. & D. The last two categories of stimuli - proper names and occupations were represented by concept labels. Apart from the fact that both have less emotional connotations than the 'race' categories, and are more self-explanatory than the dress style categories, it would be virtually impossible to express the category of proper names in any other way. Proper name stimuli were chosen as names in common usage which might be judged to have differing connotations. A small

sample of seven judges were given a list of twelve names, and asked to choose four which they felt that individuals might have very definite ideas about as people. Emma, Brenda, Simon and Terry, were the names finally chosen.

The occupational titles were chosen because they covered a fairly wide range of occupations about which subjects might reasonably be expected to have ideas, and with which they would have come into some contact. So the occupational titles of policeman, nurse, train guard and model were chosen.

Choice of Adjectives: The choice of which adjectives to include as bi-polar dimensions was based on those adjectives used by Katz and Braly (1933), and those used by Warr, Faust and Harrison for their 'British Ethnocentrism Scale' (1967). Twenty bi-polar adjectival scales were used for each of the four categories. These were modified for each category, so that the adjectives were appropriate for whatever stimulus was being presented; (e.g. neat/slovenly, staid/eccentric, for dress style; adventurous/unadventurous, sophisticated/naive, for occupations). A small pilot study was run, using only ten subjects, which indicated that there was some measure of consensuality as to what judgements were applicable to each stimuli. As the procedure for this pilot was identical to that used for the full experiment, the results of the ten subjects were included in the final total of eighty-four.

These were the bi-polar adjectival scales for each category, that were presented in the semantic differential booklet:

Racial Categories

Humble / Proud	Sophisticated / Naive
Delicate / Rugged	Talkative / Taciturn
Stupid / Intelligent	Sociable / Unsociable
Loyal / Disloyal	Affected / Natural
Haughty / Servile	Happy / Sad
Sensitive / Insensitive	Lazy / Hard working
Religious / Irreligious	Ambitious / Unambitious
Dependable / Undependable	Cultured / Uncultured
Tenacious / Yielding	Neat / Slovenly
Traditional / Modern	Excitable / Reserved

Dress Style Categories

Cultured / Uncultured	Naive / Sophisticated
Staid / Eccentric	Greedy / Generous
Attractive / Unattractive	Artistic / Unartistic
Dependable / Undependable	Follower / Leader
Neat / Slovenly	Happy / Sad
Humble / Proud	Lazy / Hard working
Excitable / Reserved	Precise / Imprecise
Stupid / Intelligent	Tenacious / Yielding
Stable / Changeable	Pleasant / Unpleasant
Sensitive / Insensitive	Loyal / Disloyal

Christian Name Categories

Old fashioned / Modern	Happy / Sad
Greedy / Generous	Belligerent / Peace loving
Attractive / Unattractive	Sophisticated / Naive
Intelligent / Stupid	Follower / Leader
Cautious / Adventurous	Stable / Changeable

Christian Name Categories: cont.

Ambitious / Unambitious	Delicate / Rugged
Pleasant / Unpleasant	Hospitable / Inhospitable
Talkative / Taciturn	Reliable / Unreliable
Religious / Irreligious	Affected / Natural
Gregarious / Loner	Sociable / Unsociable

Occupational Categories

Staid / Eccentric	Adventurous / Unadventurous
Good / Bad	Active / Passive
Strong / Weak	Sophisticated / Naive
Rugged / Delicate	Tenacious / Yielding
Just / Unjust	Honest / Dishonest
Pleasant / Unpleasant	Conservative / Liberal
Easy / Difficult	Cultured / Uncultured
Favourable / Unfavourable	Stable / Changeable
Dependable / Undependable	Colourful / Colourless
Precise / Imprecise	Kind / Unkind

Choice of Subjects: This experiment was carried out in two groups so that there would be some check on the reliability of the ratings that were produced. There were forty-two student subjects in each group - mostly non-psychologists, and those who were from the psychology department had only covered the introduction to the course, and thus could be regarded as being 'naive'. They were aged between 17 and 21, of both sexes and were all native English speakers - the use of 'foreign' students (according to the Hayakawa premise) might have invalidated the results obtained.

Format and Instructions: The questionnaire used to test hypothesis seven, was the Brian Little 'Person/Thing' personality test, and this was the first part of the experiment that was given to the subjects. This test consists of 24 questions, concerning preference for certain activities (the full questionnaire can be found in the appendix). Subjects were presented with the questionnaire sheets and given the following instructions:

"In this questionnaire there are a series of questions about how much you like to be in certain situations where you might be doing the things listed below. Use the following scale and place the appropriate number in the space next to the sentence. Try and use the full range of the scale.

0 1 2 3 4

0 = not at all	3 = Quite a lot
1 = slightly	4 = Extremely so
2 = moderately so	

After all the subjects had finished this task, they were given the semantic differential booklet. This was constructed along the usual lines. Divided into four parts, each part dealt with one of the four stimulus categories. Beneath each of the four stimulus figures per section, the appropriate bi-polar adjectival scales were written. Subjects were given the following instructions:

"Inside the booklet you will see a series of scales - one to each page. Each of these scales are made up of sets of opposing adjectives. Now you are going to be shown a series of eight slides. After seeing each slide I want you to rate it on the appropriate scale (Slide 1 = Scale 1). Here is how you are to use these scales:

"If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale you should place your mark as follows:

! X ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !

or

! ! ! ! ! ! ! X !

"If you feel that the concept is quite closely related to one or other end of the scale, you should place your mark as follows:

! X ! ! ! ! ! ! !

or

! ! ! ! ! ! ! X ! !

"If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to another (but it is not really neutral) then you should check as follows:

! ! ! X ! ! ! ! !

or

' ' ' ' ' X ' ' '

"The direction in which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seems to be appropriate or characteristic of the thing you are judging. If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale being equally associated with the concept, or if the scale is completely irrelevant, or unrelated to the concept then you should place your check-mark in the middle space:

' ' ' ' X ' ' ' '

- Important:
- a. Place your check mark in the middle spaces, not on the boundaries.
 - b. Be sure to check every scale for every concept, do not omit any.
 - c. Do not look back and forth through the items.
 - d. Never put more than one check mark on a single scale.
 - e. Make each item a separate and independent judgement.

"

The 'Labels' attached to each 'scale-step', were written on a black-board, so that they could be referred to by subjects throughout the session. Virtually no problems arose as the subjects carried out the task, and those that did arise were very simple. The complete experiment (i.e. the T/P test and S.D. scales) took approximately 40/50 minutes per subject.

Each of the slides for sections 1 and 2 were presented to the subjects for 10 seconds - which allowed adequate perception without analytical scrutiny. Subjects rated the slide immediately after presentation, and were then shown the next slide etc. For sections 3 and 4 (occupations and Christian names) subjects were asked to work as quickly as possible, but no time limits were imposed.

Analysis of Results

The results obtained were analysed to see whether there was any degree of consensuality as to which 'polar' adjectives were applicable to a particular stimulus. Two problems had to be overcome here:

- a. What constitutes a consensuality zone? - i.e. what scalar range is admissible for a consensuality judgement?
- b. What number of subjects were required to agree on an adjective before it could be accepted as being stereotypical?

The mean position awarded to each adjectival scale for each category had been found, and also the range of ratings allotted, and it was these which determined which of the bipolar adjectives were appropriately regarded as consensual for a given stimulus.

A measure of Thurstone's 'Q', was tried out to determine

within what range a score could lie and still be an admissible judgement (i.e. admissible in terms of the idea of endorsement of a stereotypical adjective). 'Q' gives an estimate of the scale range occupied by the middle 50 per cent of the population. But what is an acceptable limit for 'Q', has never been defined. 'Q' merely allows the scores to be ranked and then an arbitrary cut-off must be made. It therefore seemed reasonable, instead, to use a measure related to the standard deviation of a scale with 7 units, spaced normally around the mean (st. dev. would be 1.16) and thus it was decided to take one scale place either side of the mean as the range within which judgements would be counted as consensual. The 'boundary' of each scale unit was taken to be from 0.5 below to 0.4 above it; (see diagram below). One qualification must be added here - the question arose as to what happens if the mean falls within the 'neutral' judgement band where subjects do not think that either adjectives of the bi-polar scale ^{are} ~~is~~ appropriate; by definition neither of these can be stereotypical, and thus it is impossible to apply the concept of a consensus zone to these scores. It was decided that the zone for neutral judgements would be taken to extend from 3.5 to 4.4 and any scales where the mean position fell within this range were taken to be non-stereotypical and excluded from further analysis. For all other scores, one interval place either side of the mean was taken as being the range for stereotypical endorsement, unless either the upper or lower

limit fell within the 'neutral' zone. Thus the Range for the scores were as follows:

Mean Score	:	Range for consensuality
6.5 +	:	7 & 6
5.5 - 6.4	:	5, 6 & 7
4.5 - 5.4	:	5 & 6
3.5 - 4.4	:	NEUTRAL ZONE
2.5 - 3.4	:	3 & 2
1.5 - 2.4	:	3, 2 & 1
1.4 & below	:	2 & 1

Thus if a mean score for the adjectival scale 'good/bad' was 5.7 (in the direction of good), the consensuality range that would be acceptable would be 5, 6 and 7, and any subjects entering these scores would contribute to the number considered to be endorsing a stereotypical adjective.

The second problem was - how many subjects were required to agree on an adjective before it could be regarded as being stereotypical? The criterion that was finally accepted arose from the hypothesis that subjects would tend to make consensual judgements, and that these judgements would follow a normal distribution curve. Thus it was decided that the number of subjects falling within one standard deviation either side of the mean of the normal curve could be taken as

the minimum expected number, if the judgements were to be considered as consensual. In the case of a normal distribution curve, 31.74 per cent of subjects should naturally fall outside this criterion. For the purposes of this experiment, if more than 13 subjects gave judgements outside the 'consensuality zone' for a particular adjective for a particular stimulus - this adjective was discarded. (42 S'S per group - 0.3174 of $42 = 13$ subjects.) Thus, 68.26 per cent of subjects had to agree within \pm one standard deviation for the adjective to be included.

Once these criteria had been settled, a frequency count was used to eliminate those adjectives not showing consensual judgement. Some of the adjectives passing the above test from groups one and two nevertheless appeared in more than one category for the race section or the dress section, and were therefore omitted. The overall adjectives elicited for groups one and two for the four sections (with provision made for overlap between categories and for consistency between group one and group two subjects) appear in TABLE 1.

Further analysis was made of the results to test the hypothesis that individuals will generalise from one stimulus group to another in their stereotype endorsement. Subjects were scored for the number of stereotypical adjectives they endorsed in each category. These scores appear in TABLE 2.

The distribution of these scores is shown by TABLE 3. Using these scores, Spearman's Rho correlations between stimulus category scores over all subjects, were applied. These correlations appear in TABLE 4 and TABLE 5. As a final analysis, the subjects from group one and group two were merged and a total generality score given to each subject. This 'total generality' score included all the stereotypical adjectives produced for all categories (64 adjectives in all). Analysis of the data on the Little 'T/P' test was carried out in accordance with the instructions given in the T/P manual. The 'person-orientation' and 'thing-orientation' scores are given in TABLE 6. Another correlation was carried out between the 'total generality' scores and T/P scores to test hypothesis seven. These scores are given in TABLE 7.

Results Obtained in Experiment Two

- Table One: Stereotypical adjectives produced by subjects in Group One and Group Two for the four stimulus categories.
- Table Two: 'Stereotype Endorsement' scores for subjects in Group One and Group Two.
- Table Three: Diagram showing the distribution of totalled 'Stereotype Endorsement' scores.
- Table Four: Inter-correlation matrix of stereotype endorsement scores for Group One subjects.
- Table Five: Inter-correlation matrix of stereotype endorsement scores for Group Two subjects.
- Table Six: Scores obtained by subjects on the T/P test.
- Table Seven: RHO scores for comparison between stereotype endorsement scores, and 'person' and 'thing' scores obtained on the T/P test.

Table One

Adjectives that have been produced by the eighty-four subjects of groups one and two, that have reached the necessary criterion of consensuality

(Those adjectives underlined are those that both groups of subjects have agreed upon as being stereotypical after checking for overlap between groups and categories. Those adjectives marked * indicate adjectives from group one S's - those unasterisked indicate adjectives from group two S's.)

RACIAL CATEGORIES

<u>Coloured Male</u>	<u>White Male</u>	<u>Coloured Female</u>	<u>White Female</u>
Proud*	Proud	Humble	Delicate*
Sophisticated	Delicate	<u>Delicate</u>	Intelligent*
Naive*	Intelligent	<u>Stupid</u>	Loyal*
Natural*	Loyal	Loyal*	<u>Haughty</u>
<u>Rugged</u>	Religious	Servile	Proud
Intelligent	Neat*	<u>Sensitive</u>	Stupid
<u>Haughty</u>	<u>Reserved</u>	Religious*	Religious*
Religious	Traditional	Yielding	<u>Talkative</u>
<u>Tenacious</u>	Happy	Traditional	Dependable
Traditional	Hard Working	<u>Naive</u>	Tenacious
Sad	Cultured	<u>Sociable</u>	Traditional
Hard Working		<u>Natural</u>	Sophisticated
Cultured		Unambitious	Happy
Neat			Hard Working
			Ambitious
			Cultured*
			Neat*

Table One continuedDRESS STYLE CATEGORIES

<u>Formal Female</u>	<u>Formal Male</u>	<u>Casual Female</u>	<u>Casual Male</u>
<u>Attractive</u>	<u>Staid</u>	Pleasant*	<u>Eccentric</u>
<u>Reserved</u>	Unattractive*	Staid*	<u>Slovenly</u>
<u>Generous</u>	<u>Reserved</u>	<u>Dependable</u>	<u>Excitable</u>
<u>Artistic</u>	<u>Stable</u>	<u>Generous</u>	<u>Changeable</u>
Cultured	<u>Hard Working</u>	Attractive*	Proud
Hard Working*	<u>Greedy</u>	Humble*	Intelligent
Pleasant*	<u>Precise</u>	Excitable*	Naive
Precise	<u>Unartistic</u>	Cultured	Artistic
Staid	Dependable*	Unattractive	Leader
Dependable	Tenacious	Neat	Happy
Neat	Loyal*	Proud	Lazy
Proud	Neat	Sensitive	<u>Imprecise</u>
Intelligent	Proud	Unartistic	
Sensitive	Happy	Happy	
Sophisticated	Pleasant	Hard Working	
Happy			
Lazy			
Loyal			

CHRISTIAN NAME CATEGORIES

<u>Emma</u>	<u>Brenda</u>	<u>Simon</u>	<u>Terry</u>
Cautious	Talkative*	<u>Intelligent</u>	Attractive
<u>Generous</u>	Gregarious*	<u>Sociable</u>	Talkative
Attractive*	Happy*	Leader	Sophisticated
<u>Pleasant</u>	Delicate*	Modern	Sociable
Peace-Loving*	<u>Hospitable</u>	Attractive	
<u>Delicate</u>	<u>Sociable</u>	Hospitable	
Hospitable	Pleasant		
Sociable	Naive		

Table One continued

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

<u>Policeman</u>	<u>Nurse</u>	<u>Model</u>	<u>Train Guard</u>
<u>Staid</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>Sophisticated</u>	<u>Just</u>
<u>Strong</u>	<u>Pleasant</u>	<u>Eccentric</u>	<u>Naive</u>
<u>Rugged</u>	<u>Favourable</u>	<u>Just</u>	<u>Uncultured</u>
<u>Precise</u>	<u>Dependable</u>	<u>Undependable</u>	<u>Good</u>
<u>Naive</u>	<u>Precise</u>	<u>Changeable</u>	<u>Strong</u>
<u>Tenacious</u>	<u>Active</u>	<u>Colourful</u>	<u>Rugged</u>
<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Sophisticated</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Unadventurous</u>
<u>Stable</u>	<u>Cultured</u>	<u>Easy</u>	<u>Honest</u>
<u>Colourless</u>	<u>Colourful</u>	<u>Pleasant</u>	<u>Stable</u>
<u>Active</u>	<u>Staid*</u>	<u>Adventurous*</u>	<u>Kind</u>
<u>Favourable*</u>	<u>Rugged*</u>	<u>Imprecise</u>	
<u>Dependable*</u>	<u>Stable*</u>	<u>Honest</u>	
	<u>Good</u>		
	<u>Just</u>		
	<u>Honest</u>		
	<u>Kind</u>		

Table showing the STEREOTYPE ENDORSEMENT scores for each of the forty-two subjects in group one, and for the forty two subjects in group two.

Maximum score possible for each category is given at the foot of each column.

B.M.	W.M.	B.F.	W.F.	C.F.	C.M.	F.M.	P.M.	T.G.	N.	M.	E.	B.	S.	B.M.	W.M.	B.F.	W.F.	C.F.	C.M.	F.M.	P.M.	T.G.	N.	M.	E.	B.	S.		
3	1	4	2	4	7	2	5	8	1	8	5	3	2	2	3	1	5	1	4	5	1	4	7	3	5	6	2	2	
3	0	5	1	3	7	2	5	9	3	9	6	3	2	2	2	1	3	1	4	5	1	4	7	2	8	5	1	1	
2	1	6	2	4	7	2	5	9	3	7	6	3	2	2	3	1	5	1	4	7	2	2	9	3	7	6	3	1	
3	1	6	1	3	6	2	5	7	2	7	4	3	2	2	3	1	5	2	3	6	2	4	9	2	9	6	1	2	
3	0	4	2	3	6	2	5	7	3	9	5	3	1	2	3	1	6	2	4	7	2	3	7	3	3	6	1	2	
1	1	4	1	2	6	0	4	7	2	8	5	3	1	1	2	1	5	1	3	4	2	5	7	1	7	6	3	2	
3	0	1	4	3	7	0	1	9	2	5	5	3	2	2	3	1	5	2	3	6	2	5	9	2	4	3	3	1	
3	1	4	2	3	6	2	2	9	3	6	4	3	1	1	2	1	4	1	3	7	2	3	9	3	7	5	0	0	
3	0	4	1	4	7	2	4	9	3	7	5	3	2	1	3	1	4	1	3	6	0	5	7	3	6	5	3	1	
3	1	6	2	4	6	1	5	9	3	7	5	3	2	2	3	1	5	2	4	7	2	3	6	3	8	4	1	2	
3	0	3	0	3	5	1	1	7	1	8	4	3	2	1	3	1	5	2	3	5	1	4	7	2	6	6	3	2	
2	1	4	0	4	7	1	5	7	3	9	6	3	2	2	2	1	5	1	3	6	1	5	9	2	9	6	3	2	
3	1	3	2	3	4	2	5	9	3	8	6	2	2	0	3	1	3	0	4	7	1	5	8	2	8	5	3	1	
3	1	3	1	4	5	2	5	8	3	9	6	2	2	2	1	1	6	2	3	3	1	1	9	3	8	6	1	0	
3	1	5	2	3	5	2	5	8	3	9	6	3	2	1	3	1	6	2	4	4	2	5	7	3	9	4	3	1	
3	1	6	0	4	7	1	4	7	3	9	6	3	2	1	1	1	4	1	4	6	1	5	8	3	8	6	2	1	
3	1	6	2	4	6	2	4	8	3	8	5	3	1	2	3	1	6	0	4	6	1	4	8	3	8	4	3	2	
3	0	4	2	4	7	2	5	9	3	9	6	3	1	2	3	1	5	1	4	5	2	4	8	3	8	4	3	2	
2	0	5	2	3	4	2	3	8	2	9	5	2	2	2	1	1	4	2	4	7	0	4	7	2	9	5	2	2	
2	0	3	1	2	6	0	4	8	3	5	3	3	0	1	3	1	4	1	4	6	2	5	7	2	8	5	2	2	
2	0	3	1	3	6	1	4	9	2	6	4	3	1	1	2	1	5	2	4	7	1	4	7	3	4	4	2	0	
3	1	6	2	4	7	1	5	8	1	6	6	3	2	1	2	1	6	1	3	3	1	4	9	3	8	4	2	2	
2	1	4	2	4	6	1	4	7	3	4	4	1	2	2	2	1	6	1	4	7	2	5	8	3	8	5	1	2	
3	1	5	0	3	7	2	2	6	3	7	5	3	1	2	2	1	5	2	4	6	2	5	7	3	7	6	3	2	
3	1	3	0	3	7	1	5	8	3	5	6	2	2	0	3	1	4	2	4	7	1	4	9	2	8	5	3	1	
3	0	5	2	4	5	2	4	8	2	5	4	3	2	2	3	1	4	2	4	5	1	5	9	3	7	6	2	1	
3	1	6	2	3	7	2	5	7	3	7	3	2	2	2	3	1	6	1	3	7	2	5	8	3	6	5	3	2	
3	1	4	2	4	7	2	5	8	3	6	6	2	2	2	2	1	5	2	3	6	2	5	9	3	8	6	1	0	
3	1	4	2	4	7	1	4	7	2	9	6	3	2	1	2	1	6	2	4	4	2	4	8	2	9	6	2	2	
3	1	5	2	3	7	1	2	8	2	6	6	3	1	1	3	1	2	2	4	7	2	3	8	3	9	6	3	2	
3	1	6	2	3	6	1	5	7	3	9	6	3	2	2	2	1	5	2	3	5	1	3	9	3	7	4	1	0	
3	1	5	1	2	6	2	5	8	3	6	5	3	2	2	2	1	4	2	4	7	1	4	9	3	8	6	2	2	
3	1	6	1	4	7	2	5	9	3	8	5	3	2	2	3	1	4	2	3	7	1	5	9	3	8	4	1	2	
3	1	4	2	4	7	1	2	6	2	9	6	2	2	2	2	1	6	1	4	7	2	4	5	2	4	4	1	2	
3	1	6	2	3	6	2	2	8	1	7	5	3	2	2	3	1	3	1	4	7	2	5	8	3	7	5	2	2	
3	0	5	2	4	6	0	4	8	3	6	4	3	2	1	2	1	6	2	4	7	1	5	8	2	7	2	2	0	
3	1	6	1	2	6	1	2	6	3	9	5	3	2	1	3	1	5	2	4	6	2	5	9	3	9	2	3	2	
1	0	4	1	3	7	1	5	7	2	8	5	3	1	2	3	0	4	1	4	6	2	4	7	2	4	5	3	0	
2	1	3	2	4	7	1	4	7	3	6	4	3	2	1	3	1	5	2	2	6	2	5	7	2	8	6	3	2	
2	0	5	1	3	7	2	5	8	2	9	6	2	2	1	3	1	3	2	4	7	1	5	8	2	9	5	1	1	
2	1	5	2	2	6	2	5	9	3	9	5	3	1	1	3	1	5	2	4	7	1	3	7	3	8	5	3	1	
2	1	5	1	4	7	0	5	9	3	8	5	2	2	2	3	1	5	2	4	7	0	2	7	3	8	5	2	2	
3	1	6	2	4	7	2	5	9	3	9	6	3	2	2	3	1	6	2	4	7	2	5	9	3	9	6	3	2	2
														Max Possible Score															

Key:- B.M. = Black Male; W.M. = White Male; B.F. = Black Female;
 W.F. = White Female; F.F. = Formal Female; C.F. = Casual Female
 C.M. = Casual Male; F.M. = Formal Male; P.M. = Policeman;
 T.G. = Train Guard, N. = Nurse; M = Model; E = Emma; B = Brenda
 S. = Simon

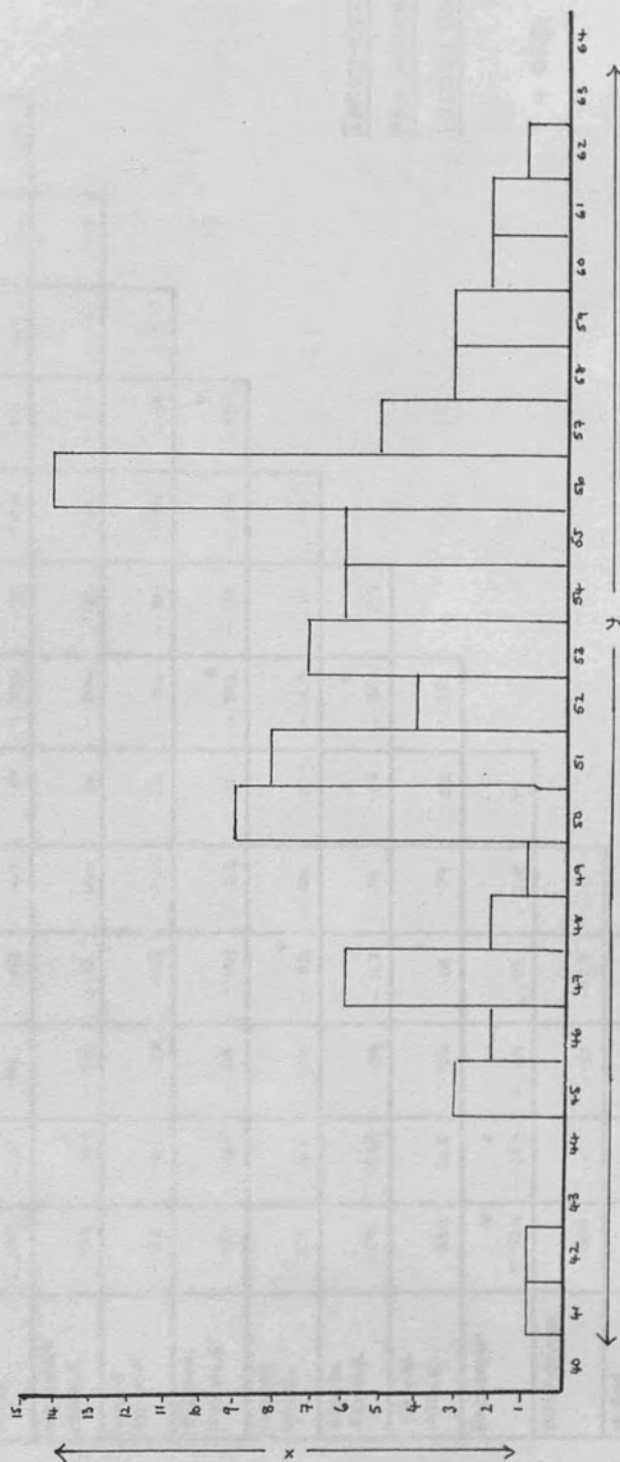


Diagram to show the distribution of 'totalled stereotype endorsement scores' for the eighty four subjects
(actual range of scale = 0 - 64)

X = number of subjects endorsing the score
Y = possible 'stereotype endorsement' scores.

TABLE THREE

	SIMON	BRENDA	EMMA	MODEL	NURSE	TRAIN GUARD	POLICE MAN	CASUAL MALE	CASUAL FEMALE	FORMAL MALE	FORMAL FEMALE	WHITE FEMALE	COLOURED FEMALE	WHITE MALE
COLOURED MALE	* .362	.255	.286	-.12	-.09	.06	-.343	.043	.177	.14	.107	(-) .001	-.177	-.126
WHITE MALE	-.007	* .637	.181	.02	*	.19	-.396	-.15	.06	.06	.109	.104	.148	
COLOURED FEMALE	.139	* .355	-.134	-.15	.038	.14	-.204	.126	.22	-.27	-.15	.05		
WHITE FEMALE	-.182	-.0007	-.212	.038	.243	.02	-.04	-.169	-.08	.032	-.062			
FORMAL FEMALE	.127	.285	-.08	-.129	.212	.11	-.596	-.132	-.016	*	.339			
FORMAL MALE	.09	.182	.06	* -.82	-.011	.237	-.187	.11	-.11					
CASUAL FEMALE	.06	.227	.09	-.162	.13	.06	-.321	.213						
CASUAL MALE	.232	.265	.186	.05	.09	.02	.25							
POLICEMAN	* -.324	*	-.29	-.19	-.117	.05								
TRAIN GUARD	.0005	.10	-.10	-.07	-.11									
NURSE	.12	.29	-.04	-.119										
MODEL	.035	.15	.223											
EMMA	.12	.179												
BRENDA	* .41													

Inter-Correlational Matrix of
Rho scores, for the 42 subjects
(Group One) in Expt. 2.

* = sig. at .05

TABLE FOUR

TABLE SIX

Table showing scores obtained by the total number of eighty-four subjects on the T/P test.

<u>Sbj, Sex, P. T.</u>		<u>Sbj, Sex, P. T.</u>		<u>Sbj, Sex, P. T.</u>
1. m. 23 32		31 m 25 22		61 f 29 13
2. m. 26 27		32 f 26 30		62 m 16 15
3. f. 40 8		33 f 35 24		63 m 29 26
4. f. 29 25		34 f 26 32		64 f 24 20
5. f 15 24		35 f 36 24		65 f 34 25
6. m 29 33		36 f 26 22		66 f 34 25
7. f 30 8		37 m 18 25		67 m 26 23
8. m 25 5		38 f 36 14		68 f 36 21
9. m 37 26		39 f 36 24		69 m 27 27
10 f 42 16		40 f 34 11		70 m 28 24
11 f 30 29		41 m 34 35		71 f 34 28
12 f 18 26		42 m 25 21		72 f 26 18
13 f 18 29		43 m 21 23		73 f 21 18
14 f 27 16		44 f 42 35		74 m 34 14
15 m 24 27		45 m 28 20		75 m 24 22
16 m 19 25		46 m 25 28		76 m 26 13
17 f 19 27		47 f 29 12		77 f 40 29
18 f 35 16		48 m 32 21		78 f 38 11
19 f 33 24		49 m 26 29		79 f 32 8
20 f 24 37		50 f 24 27		80 m 28 29
21 f 28 16		51 f 30 23		81 f 25 34
22 f 22 23		52 f 21 21		82 m 19 27
23 f 31 22		53 m 18 32		83 f 42 6
24 m 38 21		54 m 21 18		84 m 31 30
25 f 32 24		55 m 35 28		
26 f 36 24		56 f 17 18		
27 f 20 22		57 m 23 34		
28 f 26 28		58 f 35 15		
29 f 35 25		59 f 25 21		
30 f 26 24		60 m 24 24		

TABLE SEVEN

Spearman's Rho correlation scores for comparison between 'stereotype endorsement' score and 'person' and 'thing' scores on the Little T/P test.

(eighty four subjects - combined groups one and two)

For 'P' scores and stereotype endorsement scores

$\rho = .10011$ (non sig at any level)

For 'T' scores and stereotype endorsement scores

$\rho = -.08$ (non sig at any level)

Discussion of Results

Of the hypotheses in this experiment, the initial four were confirmed. These hypotheses were concerned with whether stereotypical adjectives could be elicited for the four stimulus categories and their sub-sections. With the exception of 'Terry' in the 'Christian name' category, adjectives appeared that held the required measure of consensual judgement.

Group one subjects differed from those in group two in that the second group agreed about far more adjectives in each section than did the initial group of subjects. The 'racial' category received almost double the amount of adjectives from group two subjects than it did from group one subjects (24 adjectives = group one; 52 adjectives = group two). Apart from this difference in the number of consensual adjectives, there seems to be no other difference in the types of adjectives produced for each section and sub-section. One overt factor that could be offered for this allocation difference, is that the second group of subjects were slightly younger than their counterparts (all second group subjects being first year students, and the first group subjects being mainly third year non-social science students), and might have approached the task with less caution and more enthusiasm. For both groups, however, there was a tendency not to endorse extreme judgements - a fact that would be expected (to some extent), given that a student population is under study, in that their training might have pre-disposed them to be wary in their

allocations.

Racial Categories

When the adjectives produced by group one and group two subjects had been checked for overlap, those adjectives underlined in Table One remained. As can be seen from these adjectives listed below (and which are taken from the data presented in Table One), these stereotypes are sparse in content and bear little resemblance to those produced by Katz and Braly.

Sub Table A

Coloured Male	Coloured Female	White Male	White Female
Rugged	Delicate	Reserved	Haughty
Haughty	Stupid		Talkative
Tenacious	Sensitive		
	Naive		
	Sociable		
	Natural		

However they are in keeping, in one respect, with those results obtained in more recent stereotype research.

M. K. Maykovich (1972), has pointed out that the stereotypical adjectives she elicited in her experiment on racial images of second generation Japanese-Americans, were essentially non-emotive (i.e. neutral) in content. This

finding has also been mentioned by other workers in this field, and is supported by these results here. The final stereotypes of these four stimulus figures are all distinct from each other, and hypotheses one and six can be confirmed, i.e. stereotypes do exist about races and the sex of the stimulus figure does affect stereotype content. The connotative aspects of these stereotypical adjectives are very important - especially those of the adjective 'reserved' for the white male stimulus, (which is the only adjective than can be regarded as stereotypical for this category) although these have to be inferred. Overall as can be seen from the above table, there were fewer consensual adjectives given to the white figures than to the coloured figures, which seems to be a common facet of in-group stereotypy.

Dress Style Categories

As with the racial categories, four distinct stereotypes emerged for this sub-section also, (again substantiating hypothesis five, and also supporting hypothesis three). The sharpest distinction occurs between the 'formal male' stimulus and the 'casual male' stimulus.

Sub Table B

Formal Female	Formal Male	Casual Female	Casual Male
Attractive	Staid	Dependable	Eccentric
Reserved	Reserved	Generous	Slovenly
Generous	Stable		Excitable
Artistic	Hard Working		Changeable
	Greedy		IMPRECISE
	Precise		
	Unartistic		

With these two categories, there are four bi-polar sets that sharply differentiate them (i.e. one end of the bi-polar scale is applied to one character, and the other end of the scale is applied to the other); these are staid/eccentric, precise/imprecise, stable/changeable, and reserved/excitable. No such sharp dichotomy is in evidence for the female stimulus figures, where the 'casual female' stimulus receives the least amount of adjectives.

Christian Name Categories

Of all the categories that were suggested as possible vehicles for exhibiting stereotypy, this was probably the least fruitful, although adjectives emerged, that by virtue of their consensuality can be regarded as stereotypical (except for the stimulus name of 'Terry').

Sub Table C

Emma	Brenda	Simon	Terry
Generous	Hospitable	Intelligent	-
Pleasant	Sociable	Sociable	-
Delicate			

The adjectives that appear as being stereotypical are scant and need little comment. It is possible that the choice of stimulus Christian names is responsible for this paucity of stereotypical adjectives (although this procedure was made as objective as possible), or perhaps it is simply that no such rigid stereotypes exist in Britain about Christian names in the 1970's as did exist in America in the forties (according to Schoenfeld 1942).

Occupational Categories

This section was the most fruitful of the four chosen, from the point of view of number of adjectives endorsed as being stereotypical.

Sub Table D

Nurse	Policeman	Train Guard	Model
Strong	Staid	Just	Sophisticated
Pleasant	Strong	Naive	Eccentric
Favourable	Rugged	Uncultured	Just
Dependable	Precise		Undependable
Precise	Naive		Changeable
Active	Tenacious		Colourful
Sophisticated	Conservative		
Cultured	Stable		
Colourful	Colourless		

Amongst these stereotypical adjectives there is a fairly close resemblance between the stereotypical adjectives for the 'policeman' and 'nurse'. (With the adjectives produced by group one subjects alone, there is a great deal of overlap which is eliminated when group two's ratings are added.) All four are distinguishable and possibly all adjectives are recognisable as belonging to a particular stimulus figure - with perhaps the exception of the policeman and the nurse categories where errors might be expected. Of the four stimulus figures, that of the 'train guard' receives the least amount of stereotypical adjectives. This might be because subjects have little contact with this occupation. (Amount of contact need not be physical but also includes the propagation of information about the occupation through any media or form. The other three categories, being ones

which have a greater dissemination of information). Of these stimuli figures, perhaps the responses to the 'model' category produce the most easily recognisable description. Hypothesis two can be considered to have been confirmed.

Other Hypotheses

Hypothesis Six

One of the main hypotheses in this experiment, ("That individual's who endorse the stereotype of one group, will also endorse the stereotype of another group") concerned the concept of generality. The inter-correlational matrices appearing in Tables Four and Five; a significant correlation indicates that generality is occurring between two categories or sub-categories. Examination of these tables indicates that in general the correlations are non-significant at the 0.05 level of significance, suggesting that individuals who adopt the stereotype of one group do not necessarily endorse the stereotype of another group. There are some significant correlations within these matrices, which means that the hypothesis cannot be rejected out of hand. Casual female and casual male have a significant positive relationship for group one subjects, as have white male/train guard, formal female/Brenda, coloured male/model, and nurse/model. (Negative significant relationships are evident for model/Emma, Emma/Simon, and Emma/Brenda.) There seems to be little consistency within these significant relationships; apart from the casual male/casual female - it

would seem that even within an overall category, the postulate of 'generality' is not borne out unequivocally.

Apart from the significant relationship between white male and train guard there are no significant relationships for group one subjects, between either of the white person stimuli and any other group. This bears out the finding of Gardner, Kirby, Gorospe and Villamin (1972). With their subject population (Filipinos), the subject's responses, (or autostereotypes) as with the subjects here, were unrelated to the stereotypical reactions to other racial groups. Their justification for this result in their work, was that although the results indicated that subjects who stereotype one out-group also stereotype another out-group, this generality of stereotyping doesn't include the ingroup. Thus because the in-group, under study here, responds less well to the stereotype of their own group, this factor will produce non-significant results when any correlation is attempted between this and another racial group.

This result is also borne out by the group two responses. For group two subjects, white male/policeman (significant negative relationship), and white male/nurse and white male/businessman are the only significant relationships (but no significant relationships exist between 'in-group' and 'other' ethnic group). For this group too, the number of significant rho scores shown in the relevant

matrix is not enough to warrant total acceptance of the hypothesis. Amongst these significant relationships found amongst group two subjects, seven of the thirteen are in a negative direction (for details see Table Five) which is a somewhat surprising phenomenon.

That there should be such a lack of positive significant inter-correlations for these two groups of subjects is unexpected. The rationale presented previously to support such a premise, indicates that the postulate would be expected to be validated. Its failure might have been due to the stringent criteria set for the acceptance of an adjective as being stereotypical. Also this result could have been influenced by the fact that apart from the occupational categories, the number of adjectives produced by the subjects were, for the most part, scant - which would thus make generality less likely.

Hypothesis Seven

This hypothesis suggested that there would be a relationship between scores obtained by subjects on the Person/Thing dimensions of the Little T/P test and the degree of stereotypical endoresement. This hypothesis was not confirmed. Spearman's Rho correlation co-efficient was applied to the 'T' scores and stereotype scores, and to the 'P' scores and stereotype scores, with resultant Rho scores that were not significant at any level. This was unexpected,

even though nothing specific along these lines is mentioned as having been tested, in the Little test manual. The rationale behind this test has been discussed previously, and would suggest that if individuals do orientate themselves more specifically either towards 'persons' or 'things', then an inverse relationship would be expected between stereotype score and 'person' score, with a more positive relationship between 'T' scores and stereotype scores. This, as has been mentioned previously, did not occur, which might indicate that stereotypical judgements or stereotype usage, does not necessarily carry with it a non-involvement or disinterest (either total or partial) with people - just that the T/P dimension in this case bears no relationship to stereotype endorsement score. (The rationale behind this idea is very similar to that proposed for the concept of generality . . . see earlier)

Hypothesis Eight

This hypothesis postulated that a stereotyper/non-stereotyper dimension could be distinguished. The score used to distinguish this dimension was the number of stereotypical adjectives that the subjects endorsed (maximum possible over all categories and sub-sections was 64). The lowest score for any of the eighty-four subjects was forty-one and the highest sixty-one (see Table 3). Thus all subjects indicated that they agreed with a very high proportion of the stereotypical adjectives - due to the definition of con-

sensuality used - i.e. only adjectives upon which close agreement had occurred were accepted as being stereotypical. What the results show is that the thirteen (or less) 'dissenters' on each adjective are not always the same persons.

Conclusions

There is little work based on a BRITISH STUDENT population and stereotype content - particularly when a semantic differential format is used. Direct comparison with other results is therefore not possible at this stage. A stereotype content comparison is not possible because this particular combination of categories has not been tested previously using this kind of technique or this kind of population, thus any kind of comparison should be treated with caution; however, it would seem that these adjectives (particularly for the racial stimulus figures) bear little relationship to those produced as stereotypical by other investigators. A comparison of adjectives produced by Katz and Braly for the categories of Black and White stimulus figures and those produced here show an overlap of two adjectives for the Black stimulus figures with only 'reserved' overlapping for the White stimulus figure.

Sub Table E

Black Stimuli		White Stimuli	
K & B	Sem Diff	K & B	Sem Diff
<u>Naive</u>	<u>Naive</u>	<u>Reserved</u>	<u>Reserved</u>
<u>Stupid</u>	<u>Stupid</u>	Sportsman	Haughty
Superstitious	Rugged	Intelligent	Talkative
Lazy	Tenacious	Conventional	
Happy go Lucky	Haughty	Traditional	
Ignorant	Delicate	Conservative	
Musical	Sensitive	Sophisticated	
Ostentatious	Sociable	Courteous	
Religious	Natural	Honest	
Dirty		Industrious	

This lack of overlap is perhaps indicative of the fact that forty years has lapsed between the two studies, and that overt attitudes or stereotypes have altered in some way (cf Maykovich and 'neutrality' of stereotypical adjectives).

There is a need for further validation of the results obtained here - the method of elicitation might prove to be an important variable in the type of results obtained, especially with the use of a student population, where the techniques have to be subtle to prevent any antipathy towards the task by the subject.

For the other hypotheses tested in this experiment, the hypothesis concerning the generality of stereotypy

certainly warrants further investigation, and this will be undertaken in later experiments. The hypotheses concerning the sex of the stimulus figure, concerning a stereotyper/non-stereotyper dimension and a relationship between stereotype endorsement score and 'P/T' scores were not to be tested further because of the almost total lack of data found in this experiment to support them.

Experiment Three

After the completion of the last experiment, certain points were outstanding as needing further experimentation. One of these was the hypothesis concerning whether stereotype endorsement would generalise from one stimulus group to another; (and the literature would suggest that this would be so.) A second point, was the 'type' of adjectives that had been produced in the previous experiment, bore scant relationship to those adjectives which had been produced as being stereotypical by other investigators. The existing literature suggests that the content of racial stereotypes is relatively constant, but this is not borne out by the results that have been obtained here. To look further at these points, it was decided to devise a different elicitation method that necessitated an alternative approach by the subjects.

Hypotheses:

- a. That stereotypes exist about race.
- b. That stereotypes exist about dress style.
- c. That stereotypes exist about occupations.
- d. That individuals who endorse the stereotype of one group, will also endorse the stereotype of another.

Development of Measuring Technique:

One of the drawbacks of the previous experiment, was that the final questionnaire was lengthy (though less so than the original Katz and Braly technique). Thus any new technique would have to be constructed so that the variables of fatigue and boredom would be kept to a minimum.

Photographs and concept labels as stimuli, (as used in the previous experiment), had not produced definite results; thus a method which, as far as the experimenter is aware, has not been used in eliciting stereotypes, was decided upon; this was the method of simple description - one of the traditional approaches in person perception study. The stimulus individual would be described in one or two simple sentences. Simplicity of sentence construction would thus keep subjectivity to a minimum, (though this is a difficult aspect of the technique to control for). Because the subject cannot see the individual being described, and thus does not know that he is of a specific 'type', it is necessary to mention this fact specifically. This in turn might give the subject a 'set' for the interpretation of the task. An attempt was made to overcome this by making the inclusion of 'identifying' traits as subtle as possible.

The subject was asked to produce four adjectives that he thought would be descriptive of the individual being

described. One of the drawbacks that has often been noted in experiments of this type is that a 'halo' effect or 'social desirability' effect often becomes apparent. The question then arises as to the best method of obtaining 'non-halo-like' adjectives. A direct approach was used, and it was decided to ask the subject to indicate what the stimulus figure's most and least likeable characteristics were. Thus the final elicitation format was as follows:

- A. Simple descriptive sentences concerning the stimulus figure.
- B. Demand for four adjectives applicable to the description.
- C.(i) Demand for most likeable characteristic.
- C.(ii) Demand for least likeable characteristic.

(The questionnaire showing the descriptive sentences and questions will be found in the appendix.)

Choice of Stimulus Figures: Twelve stimulus figures were used out of the original sixteen used in the previous experiment. These represented three out of four of the overall categories used formerly, i.e. race, occupation, and dress style. The overall category of Christian name was omitted since of all the possible categories tested, it was the least fruitful. These were the twelve stimulus figures finally used:

Racial Categories

Coloured Male	White Male
Coloured Female	White Female

Occupational Categories

Policeman	Nurse
Train Guard	Model

Dress Style Categories

Formal Male	Formal Female
Casual Male	Casual Female

Choice of Subjects: The subjects for this experiment were all interviewees for the undergraduate psychology course at Bedford College, and had no previous training in Psychology. (They knew that the research project was quite separate from the selection procedure.) Altogether 38 subjects were used.

Procedure and Instructions: Subjects were given the experimental booklet, and the following instructions:

"On the following pages, you will see brief descriptions of certain people. Below each description are questions concerning their personality. Will you fill in what you feel are the appropriate answers to these questions. Your answers need not be long and involved, what is

really required is the general feeling that you get about these people, from reading their descriptions. Work as quickly as you can, and do not alter your answers after having written them down."

The task took approximately half an hour.

Mode of Analysis: These thirty-eight subjects each produced five or six adjectives that they felt were applicable to each stimulus, and these had to be classified and ordered in some way because many of the adjectives were repetitious either in actual word or in meaning. This grouping could only take account of denotative meaning, although connotative grouping might have been more 'accurate' or 'comprehensive', it would have been very difficult to deal with in an objective way due to the vast number of adjectives produced (approximately 228 for each description).

All adjectives that were mentioned more than once for each description were grouped together according to the frequency of occurrence. Also, all adjectives that had the same meaning were grouped together - this was done through the use of a dictionary of synonyms, and the Thorndike and Lorge list of word frequencies. These groups were checked by an 'independent' judge for any obviously aberrant inclusion.

The data cannot be considered to be representing stereotypical adjectives because in this form they have no scale values. Some method of 'objective' judgement as to the applicability of each adjective to the description and some way of producing a scale value for each, had to be ascertained. Thus a second part was added to this experiment to determine which of these adjectival groupings could be regarded as being stereotypical.

Part Two

Choice of Subjects: Twenty subjects were used for this experiment, and were also part of an interviewee group.

Format

Only one adjective from each 'group of synonyms' was taken for inclusion in this format for objective judging - if all the adjectives had been included, the number would have been unhandleable, making the task of the subject tedious and awkward. Thus the 'chief' adjective from each group was taken, ('chief' in terms of number of endorsements). In some cases however, each adjective in the group was mentioned exactly the same number of times; in this case, Thorndike and Lorge was referred to, and the relative frequency of occurrence of each word in the group assessed - the most frequently occurring adjective was then taken as being representative of that particular adjectival grouping. Also included in the lists for objective judging were any 'ungroupable' adjectives that had been produced

more than once.

A new questionnaire was prepared using the twelve original descriptions and printed beneath these were those adjectives that had been regarded as occurring most frequently in the first part of the experiment.

The task of the subject was to rate each adjective presented in the questionnaire on a seven-point scale. They had to award scale positions not on the basis of what they themselves felt, but rather what they felt others in the general population might feel. Thus the seven-point scale was as follows:

Position 1 = No-one would say this adjective was applicable to the description.

Position 2 = A minimum number of people would say that this adjective was applicable to the description.

Position 3 = Few people would say this adjective was applicable to the description.

Position 4 = Some people would say that this adjective was applicable to the description.

Position 5 = Many people would say that this adjective was applicable to the description.

Position 6 = A majority of people would say that this adjective was applicable to the description.

Position 7 = All people would say that this adjective was applicable to the description.

How far it is true to say that this is an equal-appearing interval scale, is debatable; however, it approximates that used by Osgood and seemed to be one that the subjects could easily handle. All such judgements will be essentially 'subjective' in nature, however, because each individual will have his own expectancy as to what 'many', 'some', 'few' etc. are applicable to.

Instructions: These were the instructions given to the subjects for this task:

"On the following pages you will see brief descriptions of various individuals. Beneath each description are adjectives that may be applicable to the subject of the description. What you are required to do is this:

"Being as objective as you can, award each of the adjectives a position on the following scale.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
All people	Maj. of people	Many people	Some people	Few people	Min. of people	No-one

i.e. if you award position 7, you indicate that you feel that ALL people would judge this adjective to be applicable to the description.

OR

If you award position 4, you indicate that you feel SOME people would judge this adjective to be applicable. Work as quickly as you can and do not omit any adjective."

Mode of Analysis:

Each adjective has been given a scale position ranging from one to seven. If an adjective is consistently rated as being regarded as appropriate by only a minority of the population, it cannot be regarded as being stereotypical. On a 7 point scale position '4', can be taken as the neutral point. Thus all adjectives that received a mean position of 4.4 or less were not considered to have approached the level required for a consensually stereotypical adjective and thus were eliminated from further analysis. (Altogether 10 adjectives were omitted from description one; 19 from description 2; 12 from description three; 16 from description four; 5 from description five; 11 from description six; 10 from description seven; 9 from description eight; 9 from description 9; 7 from description ten; 20 from description eleven and ten from description twelve - because they fell below this criterion.)

For the remaining adjectives, some criteria had to be set (as with the previous experiment) which would allow a normal variation of response to be present, and which would at the same time be stringent enough to preclude too many aberrant judgements being included. The adjectives accepted as stereotypical were those which were thought by judges to be applied to the group in question by at least 'Many people' (i.e. position 5 and above). Given that

adjectives which could not be stereotypical have been eliminated (see above paragraph), a cut-off point had to be decided upon which would be stringent. The minimal cut-off point could be 50 per cent (lowest point at which consensus would be applicable); however, the definition of a stereotype that has been used in this set of experiments has required that there should be greater consensus than this, and for this reason an arbitrary cut-off point of 80 per cent was set for this analysis. This would mean that unless 15 or more of the twenty judges gave a rating of 5, 6 or 7 for a particular adjective it could not be regarded as being stereotypical for that description. The cut-off point was chosen high, instead of low because only twenty subjects were used, and it was reasoned that a high cut-off point would ensure that the judgement was in fact stereotypical, rather than an artefact created by the fairly low number of subjects.

The adjectives that could be regarded as stereotypical after this analysis, provided the basis for scores which would be used to test the hypothesis concerning stereotype 'generality'. Each stereotypical adjective provides one potential stereotype 'point', that counted in the subjects' 'stereotype endorsement' score.

TABLE ONE

Table of stereotypical adjectives appearing after the
80% criterion sort - Adjective Production experiment.

Description One - Formal Male

AVERAGE : Typical; Ordinary; Mundane
 CONVENTIONAL : Conservative; Conforming.
 MIDDLE CLASS :
 PREDICTABLE :

Description Two - Formal Female

CONSERVATIVE : Conventional
 CONFIDENT : Self-Assured; Self Confident; Self-Aware.
 NEAT : Meticulous; Fastidious; Over Precise; Proper;
 Particular; Precise.

Description Three - Policeman

PATIENT : Long suffering.
 HELPFUL : Attentive; Considerate.
 DUTIFUL : Dedicated; Conscientious.
 EFFICIENT :
 PRACTICAL :
 SELF CONTROLLED : Placid.

Description Four - Coloured Female

TRENDY : Modish; Fashionable; Smart.
 LIVELY : Energetic.

Description Five - Nurse

DEDICATED : Dutiful; Conscientious; Thorough.
 FRIENDLY : Amicable; Sociable.
 LIKABLE :
 CHEERFUL : Happy
 RELIABLE : Trustworthy

Results Obtained in Experiment Three

List of Tables

Table One: Stereotypical adjectives after 80 per cent criterion sort.

Table Two: 'Stereotype endorsement' scores for the 38 subjects in the first part of the experiment.

Table Three: 'Stereotype endorsement' scores for the 20 subjects in the second part of the experiment.

Table Four: Diagram to show totalled stereotype endorsement scores for both sets of subjects.

Table Five: Inter-correlation matrix of stereotype endorsement scores for the 38 subjects in the first part of the experiment.

Table Six: Inter-correlation matrix of stereotype endorsement scores for the 20 subjects in the second part of the experiment.

Table Seven: Correlations between frequency scores and 'mean position' scores of stereotypical adjectives.

TABLE ONE (cont')Description Five Continued.

EFFICIENT : Brisk, Competent; Organized.
 CARING : Compassionate; Concerned.
 KIND : Thoughtful; Warm herated; Good.
 BUSY : Diligent.
 POLITE : Respectful.
 HAPPY : Cheerful
 PATIENT : Conventional; Dutiful; Unliberated.
 PLEASANT : Habitual; Regimented.
 PRACTICAL : Really Concise; Home Loving; Fatherly.

Description Six - Casual Female

ACTIVE : Energetic; Lively; Spontaneous.
 HURRIED : Harassed; Flustered; Confused; Rushed.
 CASUAL : Breezy; Easy Going; Lackadaisical.
 DISORGANIZED : Inefficent; Inept; Careless; Unmethodical.

Description Seven - Model

EGOTISTICAL : Self Obsessed;
 GLAMOROUS : Elegant; Smart.
 BEAUTIFUL : Attractive; Good Looking; Pretty
 YOUNG : Immature.
 AMBITIOUS : Career-Minded
 GRACEFUL :
 BUSY :

Description Eight - Casual Male

CAREFREE : Unconcerned; Uncaring
 EASY GOING : Happy-go-Lucky
 RELAXED :
 HAPPY
 PLEASANT
 YOUNG

TABLE TWO

TABLE ONE (cont')

Description Nine - Train Guard

ROUTINIZED : Habit-bound; Regimented.

ACCEPTING : Conventional; Passive.

BORED :

METHODICAL :

Description Ten - White Female

AVERAGE : Typical; Normal ; Ordinary

CONFORMIST : Conventional; Dutiful; Unliberated.

ROUTINIZED : Habitual; Regimented.

HOMELY : Family Concious; Home Loving; Motherly.

MIDDLE AGED :

Description Eleven - Coloured Male

TOUGH : Rough; Forceful; Strong; Boisterous.

Description Twelve - White Male

CONVENTIONAL : Conforming; Conservative.

ORDINARY : Normal; Average.

PEACEFUL :

TABLE TWO

Table showing the Generality scores for the thirty eight subjects in the 'adjective production' part of the experiment.

F.M.	F.F.	P.	CoF.	N.	CaF.	M.	CaM.	T.G.	W.F.	CoM.	W.M.
1	4	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
0	2	1	0	2	2	1	3	2	0	0	0
1	0	3	2	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
4	2	0	2	3	3	1	2	1	0	0	1
1	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	0
1	1	0	1	4	2	0	1	3	3	0	0
1	0	2	2	4	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
0	0	2	0	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	0
1	0	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
1	0	2	2	3	2	1	0	3	0	0	1
0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	0	1
2	0	0	1	4	2	3	4	0	1	0	1
1	0	1	0	4	1	0	2	1	0	1	0
0	0	0	1	4	1	2	1	1	2	0	0
0	0	0	1	4	1	1	0	2	2	0	0
0	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	4	2	0
2	0	1	2	3	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
0	2	1	1	3	3	2	0	2	3	0	1
2	0	0	1	3	3	4	1	3	3	0	1
2	3	0	1	4	4	1	3	0	0	0	0
0	0	1	0	4	1	1	3	1	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	3	3	1	3	0	0	0	1
0	0	3	1	4	2	2	2	2	3	0	0
0	0	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
1	0	2	2	4	1	1	3	0	4	0	0
0	0	0	0	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
0	1	2	3	3	1	2	2	3	0	0	0
0	0	0	2	5	0	2	0	2	1	0	0
0	0	0	1	3	1	2	5	0	0	0	0
3	1	0	0	2	2	2	1	3	0	1	0
2	0	0	2	5	0	2	2	2	1	0	0
0	3	1	1	3	0	3	3	0	1	0	2
0	0	3	2	4	2	0	3	2	1	0	2
0	0	3	0	4	1	2	2	1	0	0	0
1	1	3	1	4	0	2	2	0	3	0	1
1	0	2	1	5	2	1	2	1	0	0	0
1	0	1	1	2	3	1	1	0	3	1	0
2	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	2	0	0

TABLE THREE

Table of Generality scores for the twenty subjects in the
'objective judgement' part of the experiment.

F.M.	F.F.	P.	Co.F	N.	Ca.F	M	Ca.M.	T.G.	W.F.	Co.M.	W.M.
4	3	6	2	13	4	7	5	4	5	1	3
4	3	6	1	14	4	7	6	3	5	1	3
4	3	6	2	14	3	7	6	4	5	1	3
3	3	6	2	13	4	5	5	3	3	1	3
4	3	5	2	11	3	6	6	4	5	1	3
4	1	5	2	10	2	5	1	3	2	1	1
4	2	5	2	5	3	6	6	4	5	1	2
4	1	2	1	13	4	6	3	2	5	1	3
4	3	6	2	14	4	7	6	4	5	1	3
3	3	5	1	8	4	6	5	4	3	1	3
4	3	3	1	12	4	5	5	4	5	1	3
3	3	2	2	14	3	6	2	3	5	1	3
4	2	6	2	13	3	6	6	4	5	1	3
3	3	6	2	14	4	7	5	4	5	0	1
3	3	5	1	14	3	7	5	4	5	1	3
4	3	6	1	12	3	7	5	4	2	1	3
4	3	3	1	14	4	6	5	3	5	1	3
3	2	3	2	13	4	7	6	3	3	1	3
4	3	6	2	14	4	5	6	4	5	0	2
4	1	4	2	13	4	4	6	3	5	1	2

max

pos

total

4	3	6	2	14	4	7	6	4	5	1	3
---	---	---	---	----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

key:- F.M. = Formal Male; F.F. = Formal Female; P = policeman; Co.F. = Coloured Female; N. = Nurse; Cas.F. = Casual Female; M. = Model; Ca.M. = Casual Male; T.G. = Train Guard; W.F. = White Female; Co.M. = Coloured Male; W.M. = White Male.

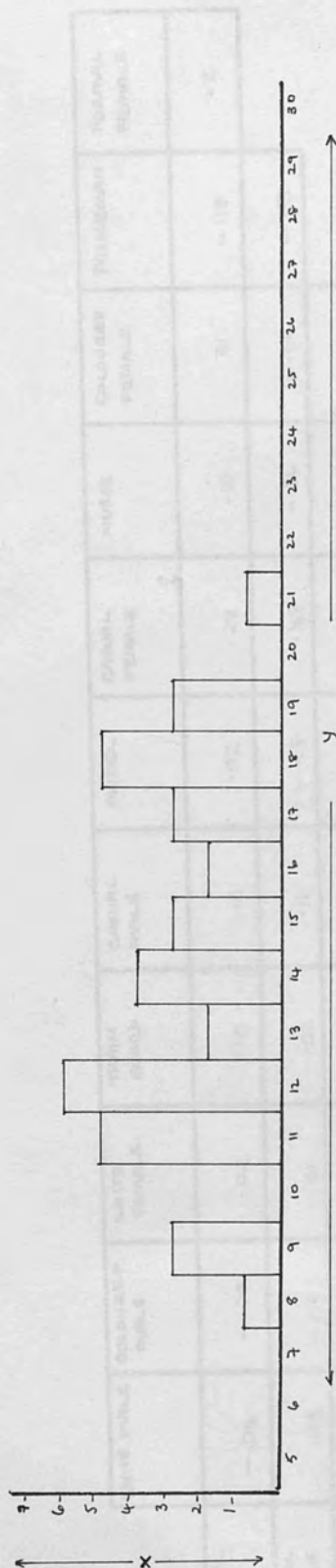


Diagram to show the distribution of 'totalled stereotype endorsement scores' for the thirty eight subjects in the adjective production section of the experiment.

X = number of subjects endorsing the score ; Y = possible 'stereotype endorsement' scores.

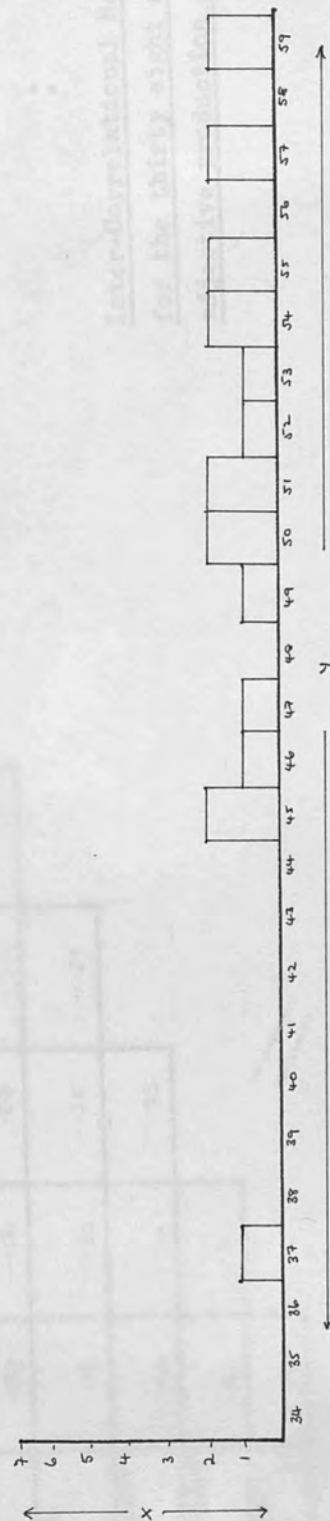


Diagram to show the distribution of 'totalled stereotype endorsement scores' for the twenty subjects in the 'Objective judgement' section of the experiment.

TABLE FOUR

	WHITE MALE	COLOURED MALE	WHITE FEMALE	TRAIN GUARD	CASUAL MALE	MODEL	CASUAL FEMALE	NURSE	COLOURED FEMALE	POLICEMAN	FORMAL FEMALE
FORMAL MALE	-.04	-.08	.02	.13	.10	.02	.28	.10	.71	-.18	.2
FORMAL FEMALE	.05	-.11	-.01	-.02	.11	-.07	.169	-.24	-.04	-.13	
POLICEMAN	-.02	.08	-.189	.05	-.10	-.11	-.198	-.19	.16		
COLOURED FEMALE	.01	-.04	.07	.21	-.265	.167	-.15	-.01			
NURSE	-.248	-.189	.002	.07	.11	-.14	-.07				
CASUAL FEMALE	.269	-.01	.02	.15	.19	-.15					
MODEL	.137	-.156	.07	-.109	-.06						
CASUAL MALE	.09	-.22	-.25	-.29							
TRAIN GUARD	-.04	-.14	-.03								
WHITE FEMALE	.02	.11									
COLOURED MALE	-.17										

Inter-Correlational Matrix of Rho scores
for the thirty eight subjects in the
adjective production section of Expt. 3.

TABLE V.

	WHITE MALE	COLOURED MALE	WHITE FEMALE	TRAIN GUARD	CASUAL MALE	MODEL	CASUAL FEMALE	NURSE	COLOURED FEMALE	POLICEMAN	FORMAL FEMALE
FORMAL MALE	-.08	.21	.29	.09	.32	-.16	-.10	-.14	-.02	.2	-.22
FORMAL FEMALE	.39	-.01	.14	.46*	-.01	.35	.16	.4*	.21	.421*	
POLICEMAN	-.023	-.09	.01	.55	.40	.38	.01	.23	.31		
COLOURED FEMALE	-.41*	-.10	.07	.09	.33	-.12	-.189	.02.			
NURSE	.12	-.227	.49*	-.105	.107	.37	.25				
CASUAL FEMALE	.09	-.402*	.148	-.203	.108	-.036					
MODEL	.365	.218	.07	.29	.14						
CASUAL MALE	-.01	.18	.319	.326							
TRAIN GUARD	-.01	.176	.18								
WHITE FEMALE	.019	-.02									
COLOURED MALE	.3										

Inter-Correlational Matrix of Rho scores
for the twenty subjects in the 'objective'
judgement section of Expt. 3.

* = sig at .05

TABLE VI.

TABLE SEVEN

Correlations between the frequency scores of certain adjectives in the adjective production section, and mean scores of the same adjectives in the 'objective judgement' section.

1.	Formal Male	rho = 0.437	sig at .05
2.	Formal Female	rho = -0.27	non sig
3.	Policeman	rho = 0.07	non sig
4.	Black Female	rho = 0.347	non sig
5.	Nurse	rho = 0.05	non sig
6.	Casual Female	rho = 0.446	sig at .05
7.	Model	rho = 0.193	non sig
8.	Casual Male	rho = -0.12	non sig
9.	Train Guard	rho = 0.51	sig at .05
10.	White Female	rho = 0.178	non sig
11.	Black Male	rho = 0.33	sig at .05
12.	White Female	rho = 0.0008	non sig

Formal Female	:	Fashion conscious
Coloured Female	:	Trendy, friendly
Casual Female	:	Busy, casual, disorganised
Model	:	Patient, hard working, persevering
Train Guard	:	Inactive, mechanical
White Female	:	Vaguely cautious

Thus it seems reasonable to assume that the sentences had presented for the test part 'objective data', and that the

Results and Discussion of Results

The main aims set out earlier for the construction of this elicitation procedure seem to have been fulfilled, in that subjects showed no distress at the task set, and expressed no difficulty in producing the requisite number of adjectives.

The structure of the sentences themselves only slightly affected the adjectives produced by the subjects. After the adjectives had been grouped (according to the criterion set previously), six out of the twelve of the stimulus categories were completely free from tainting and the remaining six, were only influenced by the sentence construction to the extent of one or two adjectives.

Sub Table A

Adjectives produced by the structure of the sentence

Formal Female	:	Fashion conscious
Coloured Female	:	Trendy; friendly
Casual Female	:	Busy, casual, disorganised
Model	:	Patient, hard working, persevering
Train Guard	:	Inactive, mechanical
White Female	:	Family conscious

Thus it seems reasonable to assume that the sentences had presented for the most part 'objective data', and that the

judgements that the subjects made were of an essentially projective nature.

In the 'adjective production' section of the experiment an interesting phenomena that occurred was the reluctance of some of the subjects to attribute 'unfavourable' traits to the personalities described, (altogether five subjects omitted the 'least likeable characteristic' entirely). This tendency to ascribe positively evaluated terms more frequently than negatively evaluated terms, has been described by Boucher and Osgood (1969) as the "Pollyanna" hypothesis. Although the majority of the thirty-eight subjects completed this demand for the least likeable characteristic, some omitted the question entirely (five subjects) and others produced 'neutral non-perjorative' adjectives. Perhaps the reason for this occurring is the reluctance of subjects to attribute negative traits on the basis of scant information; this would, however, run counter to the E. P. Hartley (1946) finding where he discovered that subjects would willingly rate 'nationalities' without any descriptive information, and that this applied even to non-existent races such as 'Wallonians' - he also found that these assessments were essentially unfavourable. These two postulates seem to directly oppose one another; however, it would seem more likely that the "Pollyanna" hypothesis is functioning - the climate of present day universities having 'trained' students in the mode of making cautious judgements.

For each subject therefore, in this first part of the experiment, there was a maximum number of six adjectives that could be produced for each character. Some subjects (twelve in number) produced the same adjective for one of the first four demanded, and for either the most or least likeable characteristic. If this occurred, then the productions were counted as one score. Apart from the few subjects who omitted the 'least likeable characteristic' demand, the majority completed the requirement of six adjectives. These adjectives were grouped according to the criterion set previously, but even though the grouping was as careful as possible, and even though they were checked for 'aberrant' inclusions, by an independent judge, there is some slight overlap of connotative meaning, e.g. 'conscientious and reliable' for white male, even though this has a clear denotative distinction.

The adjectives finally presented to the twenty objective judges for rating, provided the judgements necessary for determining which of these adjectives could be regarded as being stereotypical. As was found in the previous experiment, the 'racial' stimulus figures presented, produced the least amount of stereotypical adjectives (eleven adjectives over the four categories) and the occupational categories produced the most (21 adjectives over the four categories). For the four stimulus figures in the dress section, the number of adjectives found to be stereotypical

was approximately the same as found previously. The subtable overleaf shows the differences in adjectives produced by the previous semantic differential experiment, (Experiment Two) and the present 'adjective production' experiment.

One of the most interesting adjectives produced as being stereotypical is the adjective 'tough' for the coloured male, which seems to have been inspired by the reference to 'scarred cheeks' in the description presented to the subjects, the inference seemingly being made that scars have been incurred through fighting as opposed to ritual.

Both the white stimulus figures are seen as 'conventional' (or conformist) and 'ordinary' (or average) - the latter distinction possibly being a comment on the fact that the descriptions refer to the in-group, and as such are felt to be sufficiently described in this way. For the 'black' stimuli however, there is no overlap of adjectives, both figures producing between them only three adjectives.

The dress style categories also showed some degree of overlap. Both male and female stimulus figures for casual dress style are described as 'easy-going' or 'casual', whereas for the formal dress style categories 'conventional'

Sub Table B

Racial Categories

Coloured Male		Coloured Female		White Male		White Female	
SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP
Rugged	Tough	Delicate	Trendy	Reserved	Conventional	Haughty	Average
Tenacious		Stupid	Lively		Orderly	Talkative	Conformist
Haughty		Sensitive		Peaceful			Routinized
		Sociable					Homely
		Naive					Middle Aged
		Natural					

Dress Style Categories

Formal Female		Formal Male		Casual Female		Casual Male	
SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP
Attractive	Conservative	Staid	Average	Dependable	Active	Eccentric	Carefree
Reserved	Confident	Reserved	Conventional	Generous	Hurried	Slovenly	Easy Going
Generous	Neat	Stable	Middle Class		Casual	Excitable	Relaxed
Artistic		Hard Working	Predictable		Dis-organised	Changeable	Happy
		Greedy				Imprecise	Pleasant
		Precise					Young
		Unartistic					

Sub Table B Continued

Occupational Categories									
Policeman		Nurse		Train Guard		Model			
SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP	SD	FAP
Staid	Patient	Strong	Practical	Just	Routinized	Sophisticated	Egotistical		
Strong	Helpful	Pleasant	Patient	Naive	Accepting	Eccentric	Glamorous		
Rugged	Dutiful	Favourable	Pleasant	Uncultured	Bored	Just	Beautiful		
Precise	Efficient	Dependable	Dedicated		Methodical	Undependable	Young		
Naive	Practical	Precise	Friendly			Changeable	Ambitious		
Tenacious	Self-controlled	Active	Likeable			Colourful	Graceful		
Conservative		Sophisticated	Cheerful				Busy		
Stable		Cultured	Reliable						
Colourless		Colourful	Efficient						
			Caring						
			Kind						
			Polite						
			Busy						
			Happy						

and 'conservative' overlap the two figures.

The occupational categories cannot be checked for overlap because they are not in any way equatable.

This experiment was designed primarily to re-test the hypothesis - "That individuals who endorse the stereotype of one group will also endorse the stereotype of another group", as well as testing the validity of using a different elicitation procedure. Generality scores were obtained by scoring one point for 'stereotypical adjectives' either produced or endorsed by the subjects. Each subject (whether he had undertaken the 'adjective production' section or whether he had been one of the subjects in the 'objective' part of the experiment) had a total stereotype endorsement score, (thus 38 stereotype endorsement scores for 'adjective production' subjects plus 20 such scores for 'objective judgement' subjects). For the adjective production part of the experiment a simple check of the stereotypical adjectives against the initial adjectives produced determined this score; for the second part of the experiment, if any of the stereotypical adjectives received an endorsement of 5, 6 or 7 it counted as a stereotypical score. Thus for the 38 subjects in the first part of the experiment and the 20 subjects in the second part of the experiment, overall generality scores were obtained (and these are presented in tables 2 and 3) and Spearman's Rho

correlation co-efficient was carried out between the subjects stereotype endorsement scores for the different categories; each set of scores was treated separately, and the relevant rho scores are presented in Table 5 for the 38 subjects in the adjective production section of the experiment, and in Table 6 for the 20 subjects in the 'objective' judgement section of the experiment.

For the adjective production subjects (as the matrix shows) none of these comparisons were significant at the 0.05 level of significance. This result might be accounted for by the fact that subjects could only produce a maximum of six adjectives for each stimulus figure; this is a severely limiting number when the subject is given a free hand in the choice of his adjectives, so perhaps it is not surprising that there is such lack of significant relationships between these categories.

The same technique was applied to the judgements produced by the twenty 'objective' judges. These subjects had been asked to rate the adjectives produced by the thirty-eight subjects of the first experimental section, in order to determine the scale score of each adjective - in effect they were producing judgements of what they believed 'people in general' would think. It was hypothesized that generality amongst these different scores might occur - in that subjects would exhibit a consistency in their judgements.

Spearman's Rho was carried out between their stereotype endorsement scores for the different categories. As can be seen from the matrix in Table 6, six of these relationships are significant at the 0.05 level. The majority of these significant relationships occur between the occupational category sub-sections and other sections - which would to some extent be expected as the occupational stimulus figures were the most productive categories. The exceptions to this were the relationship between casual male and coloured female ($\rho = -0.402$); coloured female and white male, ($\rho = -0.41$) - these are the only two significant negative relationships. Thus as with the previous experiment, the hypothesis that generality occurs between stereotypical groupings cannot be accepted without reservation - but again there is an indication that this is not a completely invalid proposition.

As a final point of analysis, a correlation was attempted to see whether a relationship existed between the mean rating of the most 'popular' adjectives presented to the 'objective' judges and the frequency of 'spontaneous production' of these same adjectives by the 'first part' subjects. One third of the possible twelve relationships were significant at the 0.05 level of significance. These were the formal male comparison ($\rho = 0.437$); casual female comparison ($\rho = 0.446$); train guard comparison ($\rho = 0.51$) and black male comparison ($\rho = 0.33$). This

last significant relationship should be treated with caution to some extent because only one adjective was produced that could be regarded as being stereotypical for the category. For the other three categories it would seem that the ratings back up the spontaneous production and that the subjects agree as to the applicability of these particular adjectives.

Conclusions

One of the most interesting findings of this experiment was the lack of concordance between the stereotypical adjectives produced by the semantic differential format, and the stereotypical adjectives produced here (as shown in sub table B, which has been presented previously). This would suggest that either the elicitation method is greatly influencing stereotype content or that present day British subjects genuinely do not use traditional stereotypes. Of these two procedures (semantic differential and Free adjective production), the 'free' elicitation method is the more fundamental method of eliciting stereotype content. It does make the verifying of a generality concept more difficult, but it is possible (as demonstrated here) to produce scale values for the adjectives by means of a separate investigation.

Experiment Four

Three experiments have now been run, dealing with the problems of stereotype elicitation and the concept of stereotype generality, and the results have been for the most part, inconclusive. Apart from the extensive literature on the former problem, there is the ordinary fact that individuals, when questioned admit that there are such phenomena, and that they have some knowledge of them. Vernon (1964) acknowledges, as does Secord (1959) that there are two types of stereotypes; firstly the culturally induced type, i.e. a general view of a class or section of people, which is often fallacious and which requires no specific experience or training to acquire - traditional stereotypes; and secondly there are personal stereotypes. These are beliefs about classes of people, that have been built up through personal experience or hearsay, and which by their very nature will be highly idiosyncratic. The premise behind this is that every individual is unique not only in physiological and psychological make up, but also in personal background of experience. It is this uniqueness that will produce the so-called personal stereotype.

The results obtained in Experiments Two and Three have been inconsistent with the stereotypes that have been produced by overseas (mainly American) investigators, and the number of consensual adjectives have not been large. These

results suggest that the variables that might have disrupted the expected results were either that the subjects were using idiosyncratic (as opposed to traditional) stereotypes, or that the subjects were less willing than others might have been to make gross judgements with little information upon which to base them; (this latter suggestion will be dealt with in a later experiment).

The present experiment to be reported here, attempted to assess the first of these two possibilities - i.e. whether personal stereotypy is occurring. If subjects as a group show no cohesion or uniformity in their response to the various selected stimuli, but show consistency within their own judgements, then it is a reasonable premise that the responses elicited are idiosyncratic. However, if consensuality occurs then it would seem that traditional stereotypy (of some sort) is operating.

Hypotheses

- a. That idiosyncratic stereotypes will be elicited when subjects are presented with various stimuli figures.
- b. That idiosyncratic stereotypes will be elicited in an unstructured stimulus situation.
- c. That if traditional stereotypes occur, 'generality' of response will also be apparent.

Choice of Technique: A modification of Kelly's technique for eliciting personal constructs was used in the first part of this experiment, in an attempt to determine what concepts individuals used in their comparison of stimulus individuals. The second part of the experiment was designed to see whether the assessments of stimulus figures made by subjects altered when the stimulus figures were presented in a slightly less artificial way. For this section a modification of Thematic Apperception or 'tell a story' technique was used. Two stimulus figures would be shown in a picture, and the subjects would be asked to describe the scene and the personalities of the individuals concerned in a story.

Choice of Subjects: The subject population used here was a student one, who came from all departments and all years. Altogether sixty subjects were used. Each subject completed the first part of the experiment (which will be called for convenience, the 'construct' section); for the 'TAT' section or 'story' section, each subject dealt with two stimulus pairs of figures, thus for each stimulus figure in this section, there were twenty descriptions. This modification was made, to cut down the length of time each subject was asked to give to the experiment, and to avoid the variables of fatigue and boredom.

Choice of Stimuli Figures: The stimuli figures chosen here

were from the same categories that had been used in previous experiments, i.e. they covered the categories of race, occupation and dress/occupation. The stimulus pairings that were used were as follows:

1. Coloured Male / White Male
2. White Male / Policeman
3. Hippy / Businessman
4. Coloured Female / White Female
5. White Female / Nurse
6. Nurse / Model

Thus there were nine stimulus figures, with the duplication of white male, white female, and nurse, thus giving twelve potential scoring categories. The duplication of three figures would allow to some extent an assessment of personal stereotypy to be undertaken. These stimuli were presented as line drawings, which had been photographed and dry mounted. Line drawings as a medium was chosen because they could be drawn to exact specifications. Line drawings were also used for the 'story' section of the experiment. Twenty subjects were given two pictures each (i.e. containing four stimulus figures between them) out of the following six that were available for presentation. These were:

1. Coloured Male and White Male: involved in a potential helping situation of a bus queue, containing the two stimuli figures and an old lady.

2. White Male and Policeman: neutral setting of a street scene, where only these two stimuli characters are available.
3. Hippy and Businessman: scene on a railway station stimuli figures and a subsidiary figure of a hitch hiker who seems to have lost his way. (A potentially helping situation).
4. Coloured Female and White Female: involved in a potential helping situation, where another person has fallen down and might be ill.
5. White Female and Nurse: involved in a neutral setting of a supermarket; no other figure involved.
6. Nurse and Model: involved in a scene where a little boy is seen to be in distress.

For the most part these scenes were either neutral in situation or gave obvious scope for help to be given to extraneous characters. Scenes involving the policeman and the nurse were kept neutral with one exception, because otherwise the nurse and policeman might simply be seen as doing their jobs. The exception was the final scene where the nurse and the model were involved. This was made potentially helpful, in order to see whether in fact this postulate

was confirmed, and the nurse 'merely' seen to be doing her specialised job. The drawings that were used as stimuli for both the first and second parts of the experiment are given in the Appendix.

Format and Instructions: Subjects were given a simple answer booklet, and the following instructions:

Construct part of the Experiment

"For each of the pairs of photographs that you will be given, I want you to list between 6 and 8 ways in which the two individuals differ from each other in personality. For instance if you feel that picture A differs from picture B because A is good and B is bad, then in one column write the word 'good' (underneath whichever column is appropriate) and in the other column write the word 'bad'. If you feel that the way the two personalities differ is because one is good and the other is not, write down the word 'good' under the appropriate column. Now you may feel that the other character is not as 'good' as the first, but you may hesitate to call him 'bad'; you then put down the word that you feel to be appropriate (it might be malicious for instance) in the second column; i.e. because you put down one adjective you do not have to put down its opposite for the other character."

'Story' part of the Experiment

"You are going to be given two drawings that depict various situations. What I want you to do is to use your imagination to weave a story around the

characters in the drawing and the situation that they are in. You may include what you imagine has led up to the situation, and how the situation will resolve itself. Make your story as full as possible and as interesting as possible. There is space to write your story down overleaf."

Subjects were told to complete the 'construct' section first, and when doing this, not to look at the other pairs of stimuli, until they had completed the first, etc. Then they were given the relevant 'story' stimuli, and asked to complete this. No subject had any difficulty with the task, which took approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour.

Analysis of Results

The analysis of the data collected in this experiment was carried out in three parts. The first part was concerned with the concept of 'personal' or idiosyncratic stereotypy. The 'constructs' that subjects had produced for the 'duplicated' stimulus figures (e.g. white female/nurse; white female/coloured female) were checked to see whether a repetition of constructs occurred. This was possible for three of the nine stimulus figures - white female(versus nurse; versus coloured female); nurse (versus white female, versus model); white male (versus coloured male, versus policeman).

The second (and main part) was to see whether elicited constructs were carried through into story descriptions of the same characters. The stories produced by the three groups of twenty subjects were analysed according to the number and type of adjectives produced for the relevant stimulus figures, and also for which stimulus figure was made the 'hero' or central character; they were also analysed for the emotional tone of the stories (if any). To make this part of the analysis as objective as possible, the stories were 'checked' by two independent judges, as well as by the experimenter. The adjectives that were produced for the relevant stimulus figures in the stories were then checked against the relevant construct adjectives. (These comparisons are presented in Table 1.)

The third part of the analysis was concerned with the search for 'traditional' stereotypy, and for this section only the produced 'constructs' were used. The analysis was identical to that used in the assessment of 'produced adjectives' in experiment three. To summarise, adjectives produced by the sixty subjects as descriptive of the stimuli figures were treated as freely produced adjectives and were grouped according to their frequency of occurrence and meaning. Thus giving 'groups of adjectives'. The 'chief' adjective of each group (either in terms of frequency of production or frequency of occurrence) were then presented to a further twenty 'naive' student subjects, for rating on

a 7-point scale (i.e. an 'objective' scale, see experiment three for exact scale positions). Thus for each adjective there were twenty rated positions. Adjectives with a mean of 4.5 or above were taken as being potentially stereotypical, and checked with an 80 per cent criterion sort for consensus of rating. The adjectives that reached the criterion of consensuality, and therefore which can be regarded as stereotypical are presented in Table 3. These stereotypical adjectives were then checked against the produced adjectives and the objective judgements to gain a score of stereotypic endorsement for each subject, which in turn provided the basis for the 'generality' scores.

Results obtained in Experiment Four

List of Tables

Table One : Comparison of Adjectives produced as constructs and adjectives produced in the 'story' section.

Table Two : Summary Table of Story Content.

Table Three: Table of Stereotypical Adjectives.

Table Four : Inter-correlational matrix of stereotype endorsement scores for 'construct production subjects'.

Table Five: Inter-correlational matrix of stereotype endorsement scores 'objective judgement subjects.

Table Six : Diagram showing distribution of total stereotype endorsement scores.

Table Seven: Stereotype endorsement scores for sixty subjects in the 'construct' section.

Table Eight: Stereotype endorsement scores for twenty subjects in the 'objective judgement' section.

Comparison of adjectives produced as 'constructs' and adjectives produced in the 'story' section. (Adjectives cannot be checked as bi-polar, because within the stories, the two stimuli figures are not always mentioned).

Stimulus Figures within each group:

Group A = Coloured Male / White Male
Nurse / White Female
Group B = Hippy / Businessman
Coloured Female / White Female
Group C = Model / Nurse
Policeman / White Male.

<u>Sbj</u>	<u>Grp</u>	<u>Nō</u>	<u>Figure</u>	<u>Adjectives</u>	
				<u>Construct</u>	<u>Story</u>
1	B	0			
2	A	1	Nurse	Helpful	Helpful
3.	A	1	Nurse	Honest	Honest
4.	C	3	Model	Sophisticated	Sophisticated
			P'man	Perceptive	Alert
			W. M'le	Shifty	Shifty
5.	C	0			
6.	B	0			
7.	A	2	Nurse	Harassed	Rushed
			W. M'le	Determined	Ruthless
8.	B	0			
9.	C	4	Model	Callous	Unfeeling
				Worldly	Sophisticated
			Nurse	Caring	Helpful
			P'man	Alert	Observant
10.	A	0			
11.	B	0			
12.	C	0			
13.	A	1	W. M'le	Indifferent	Indifferent
14.	B	0			
15.	C	1	Nurse	Kind	Kind
16.	A	1	W. Fem	Thoughtless of others	Selfish
17.	B	0			
18.	C	0			
19.	A	1	C. M'le	Happy	Cheerful
20.	B.	3	Hippy	Lazy	Lazy
			B' Man	Confused	Confused
				Short sighted	Narrow View

TABLE ONE (cont')

Comparison of 'construct' adjectives and 'story' adjectives
for agreement, continued.

Sbj	Grp	N ^o	Figure	Adjectives	
				Construct	Story
21.	A	2	Nurse	Hard working	Over worked
				Friendly	Warm
22.	C	1	W.M'le	Unhappy	Distressed
23.	B	0			
24.	C	1	Nurse	Duty Concious	Dedicated
25.	A	0			
26.	B	1	W.Fem	Slow reactions	Slow witted
27.	C	3	Model	Bored	Dissatisfied
			Nurse	Unselfish	Kind
			W.M'le	Shifty	Wary
28.	A	0			
29.	B	0			
30.	C	1	Model	Snooty	Snooty
31.	A	0			
32.	B	1	B'Man	Harsh	Curt
33.	C	0			
34.	A	0			
35.	B	1	B'Man	Reactionary	Reactionary
36.	C	2	Nurse	Loving	Child Loving
			P'Man	Observant	Alert
37.	A	0			
38.	B	1	B'Man	Dull	Stuffy
39.	C	1	Nurse	Caring	Caring
40.	A	0			
41.	B	0			
42.	C	0			
43.	A	1	Nurse	Tired	Over worked
44.	B	0			
45.	A	0			
46.	C	0			
47.	B	0			
48.	C	0			
49.	A	0			
50.	A	0			
51.	C	0			
52.	A	0			
53.	B	0			
54.	C	1	Nurse	Dedicated	Duty Concious

Comparison of 'construct' adjectives and 'story' adjectives
for agreement: continued

Sbj.	Grp	Nō	Figure	<u>Adjectives</u>	
				<u>Construct</u>	<u>Story</u>
55.	A	0			
56.	B	0			
57.	C	0			
58.	A	0			
59.	B	0			
60.	C	1	Model	Concerned to impress	Affected

Abbreviations:

C. M'le = Coloured Male
W. M'le = White Male
P' Man = Policeman
B' Man = Businessman

Summary table concerning the content of the stories produced by the sixty subjects. (Characters indicated by an asterix, are stimulus characters.)

Story Group	Character	Number of times where NO adjs are present	Tone of Narrative		Number of times mentioned as Hero figure	Number of times mentioned as incidental figure
			Positive	Negative		
Ai	Coloured Male*	10	2	4	0	8
	White Male*	7	0	7	7	6
	Old Lady				10	3
Aii	Nurse*	7	4	1	13	3
	White Fem.*	12	2	1	2	6
Bi	Col. Female*	13	0	3	0	7
	Wh. Female*	16	2	1	2	7
Bii	Ill Person				7	0
	Hippy*	8	0	0	0	6
	Businessman*	6	0	2	3	5
Ci	Hitch hiker				5	3
	Model*	5	2	6	1	4
	Nurse*	11	5	0	1	6
Cii	Child				14	0
	Policeman*	14	0	0	1	6
	White Male*	13	0	0	4	3

TABLE TWO

Table showing stereotypical adjectives obtained after 80% criterion sort of 'objective' judges ratings.

Photograph One - Coloured Male (compared with white male)

Strong

Photograph Two - White Male (compared with coloured male)

Ordinary

Photograph Three - Policeman (compared with white male)

Strict	Determined	Conformist
Stern	Alert	Efficient
Helpful	Calm	Quick Acting
Strong	Law Abiding	

Photograph Four - White Male (compared with policeman)

Solitary
Quiet

Photograph Five - Hippy (compared with Businessman)

Easy Going	Egotistical	Freakish
Careless	Unaccepted	Untidy
Free	Atheist	Extrovert
Unconventional	Non Conformist	

Photograph Six - Businessman (compared with Hippy)

Self Righteous	Conscientious	Superior
Reserved	Conventional	Self Assured
Capable	Polite	Ambitious
Disciplined	Orderly	Habitual
Intolerant	Hard	Pompous
Upright		

Photograph Seven - Coloured Female (compared with white female)

Happy
Natural
Young

Photograph Eight - White Female (compared with coloured female)

Young

Photograph Nine - Nurse (compared with white female)

Gentle	Hard working	Sympathetic	Efficient
Generous	Kind	Capable	Busy
Patient	Friendly	Cool	Neat
Dedicated	Practical	Active	

Table showing stereotypical adjectives obtained after 80% crieterion sort of 'objective' judges ratings continued.

Photograph Ten - White Female (compared with Nurse)

Calculating	Reflective
Demanding	Independant
Aloof	Confident

Photograph Eleven - Nurse (compared with Model)

Kind	Dependable	Efficient
Caring	Gentle	Active
Practical	Dedicated	Eager to Please
Honest	Calm	Hard working
Pleasant	Sympathetic	

Photograph Twelve - Model (as compared with nurse)

Sophisticated	Selfish	Showy
Vain	Bitchy	Intolerant
Ambitious	Confident	Erratic
Fashionable	Self Opinionated	Impractical
Snooty	Charming	Affected
Hard	Domineering	

	MODEL	NURSE (CF. MODEL)	WHITE FEMALE (CF. NURSE)	NURSE (CF. WH. FEM)	WHITE FEMALE (CF. COL. FEM)	COLOURED FEMALE	BUSINESSMAN	HIPPY	WHITE MALE (CF. POLICEMAN)	POLICEMAN	WHITE MALE (CF. COL. MALE)
COLOURED MALE	.09	.10	.008	.21	-.08	-.027*	.18	-.19	.16	-.06	-.08
WHITE MALE (CF. COL. MALE)	.03	.06	.21	-.08	-.05	.01	-.05	-.03	.06	-.08	
POLICEMAN	.24	.17	.01	.304*	.01	-.02	.177	.06	.02		
WHITE MALE (CF. POLICEMAN)	.10	.13	.07	.04	.10	-.02	.168	-.09			
HIPPY	.12	-.12	-.07	-.09	-.01	.18	.21				
BUSINESSMAN	.16	.10	.08	.05	-.10	.18					
COLOURED FEMALE	.01	.11	.03	.08	-.12						
WHITE FEMALE (CF. COL. FEM)	-.04	-.004	.37*	.2							
NURSE	.13	.36*	-.03								
WHITE FEMALE (CF. NURSE)	-.04	-.04									
NURSE (CF. MODEL)	.2										

Inter-Correlational Matrix of Rho Scores
for the sixty subjects in the 'construct'
section of Expt. 4.

* = sig at .05

TABLE IV.

MODEL	NURSE (CF. MODEL)	WHITE FEMALE (CF. NURSE)	NURSE (CF. WH. FEM)	WHITE FEMALE (CF. COL. FEM)	COLOURED FEMALE	BUSINESSMAN	HIPPY	WHITE MALE (CF. POLICEMAN)	POLICEMAN	WHITE MALE (CF. COL. MALE)
COLOURED MALE	.10	.05	.397	.014	.253	.22	.24	.47*	.389	.377
WHITE MALE (CF. COL. MALE)	.047	-.2	.29	.05	.347	.347	.324	.194	.288	
POLICEMAN	-.036	.08	-.08	-.04	.033	-.068	.449*	-.001		
WHITE MALE (CF. POLICEMAN)	.46*	.46*	.149	.2	.053	.201	.174			
HIPPY	.14	.42*	.18	.08	.13	.03				
BUSINESSMAN	.12	-.25	.16	.182	.376					
COLOURED FEMALE	-.11	-.2	.05	.14						
WHITE FEMALE (CF. COL. FEM)	-.06	.23	-.408*							
NURSE	.39	.57*	-.186							
(CF. WH. FEM)										
WHITE FEMALE (CF. NURSE)	-.2	-.285								
NURSE (CF. MODEL)	.57*									

Inter-Correlational Matrix of Rho scores
for the twenty subjects in the 'objective'
judgement section of Expt. 4.

* = sig at .05

TABLE V.

TABLE SIX

Generalization scores for the sixty subjects in the 'subjective' section of the experiment.

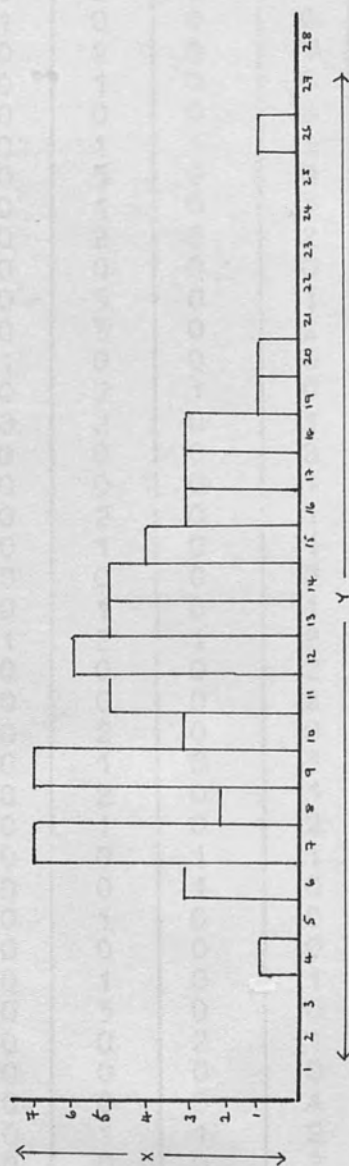


Diagram to show the distribution of the 'totalled stereotype endorsement' scores for the sixty subjects in the adjective production section of the experiment.

X = number of subjects endorsing the score ; Y = possible 'stereotype endorsement' score.

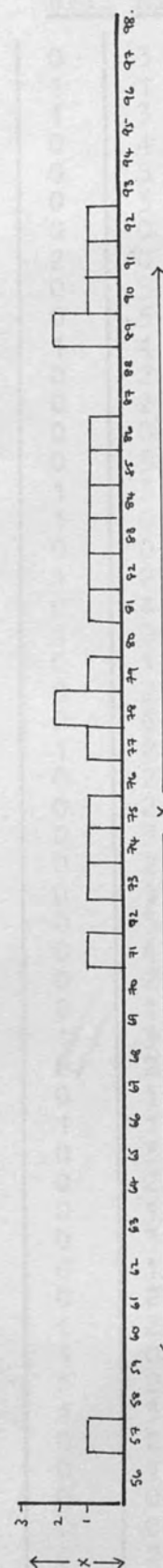


Diagram to show the distribution of 'totalled stereotype endorsement' scores for the twenty subjects in the 'objective judgement' section of the experiment.

TABLE SIX

TABLE SEVEN

Generality scores for the sixty subjects in the 'construct' section of the experiment.

CM	WMI	P	WMii	H	BM	CF	WFi	Ni	WFii	Nii	M	Tot
0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	3	3	13
0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	7
1	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	4	1	3	3	18
1	0	1	1	0	4	1	0	2	0	4	3	17
1	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	4	0	5	4	19
0	0	2	0	3	3	1	0	1	0	3	1	14
0	0	1	0	1	4	2	0	4	0	0	2	14
0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	6
0	0	3	1	1	4	1	0	6	0	5	5	26
0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	5	4	12
0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	1	4	2	13
0	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	1	0	2	1	11
0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	8
1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	1	7
0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	5	0	5	1	16
0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	3	0	9
0	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	3	1	0	2	11
0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	6
0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	2	4	9
0	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	4	2	13
0	0	5	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	2	12
0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	9
0	0	2	0	2	3	1	0	2	0	2	4	16
0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	5	0	6	3	18
0	0	3	0	1	2	1	0	2	1	2	3	15
0	0	3	0	2	3	1	0	2	0	2	4	17
0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2	3	9
0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	5	0	3	1	13
0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	4	0	2	4	15
0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	6
0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	7
0	0	2	0	1	4	1	0	5	0	4	3	20
0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	3	10
0	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	7
0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	3	12
0	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	1	0	2	4	18
0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	6
0	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	2	1	1	3	13
0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	3	1	11
0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	3	0	2	4	15
0	0	2	0	3	1	1	0	5	0	1	2	15
0	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	2	0	3	1	12
0	0	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	7
2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	2	0	9
0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	2	5	12
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	4
0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	8
1	0	3	0	0	3	1	0	2	1	3	3	17
0	0	0	2	1	2	0	1	3	0	2	1	12
0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	3	9
0	0	0	0	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	9
0	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	1	0	0	3	11
0	0	0	0	2	3	2	0	3	0	2	2	14
0	0	2	1	1	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	16
2	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	3	0	1	2	14
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	3	0	2	1	10
1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	0	2	4	14
0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	5	0	2	1	11

see overleaf

TABLE SEVEN (cont')

Generality scores for the sixty subjects continued:-

CM	Wmi	P	Wmii	H	BM	CF	WFi	Ni	WFii	Nii	M	Tot
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	3	2	10
0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	7

CM = Coloured Male

Wmi = White Male (when compared with coloured male)

P = Policeman

Wmii = White Male (when compared with policeman)

H = Hippy

BM = Businessman

CF = Coloured Female

WFi = White Female (when compared with coloured female)

Ni = Nurse (when compared with white female)

WFii = White Female (when compared with nurse)

Nii = Nurse (when compared with model)

M = Model

Maximum Totals possible.

1 2 11 2 11 16 3 11 15 11 11 11 11

Key:-

CM = Coloured Male

Wmi = White Male (when compared with coloured male)

P = Policeman

Wmii = White Male (when compared with policeman)

H = Hippy

BM = Businessman

CF = Coloured Female

WFi = White Female (when compared with coloured female)

Ni = Nurse (when compared with white female)

WFii = White Female (when compared with nurse)

Nii = Nurse (when compared with model)

M = Model

TABLE EIGHT

'Generality' scores for the twenty subjects in the objective judgement section of the 'construct' experiment.

Discussion of results

CM	Wmi	P	WMii	H	BM	CF	WFi	Ni	WFii	Nii	M	Total
1	0	10	2	9	16	2	1	15	5	13	15	89
1	1	9	2	10	13	3	1	15	6	14	17	92
0	1	10	1	11	12	2	1	15	2	13	14	82
1	1	10	2	11	14	1	1	15	6	12	12	86
1	0	9	2	8	9	3	1	13	4	12	9	71
0	0	9	1	9	10	2	1	15	4	13	15	79
1	0	10	2	10	11	2	1	14	4	14	14	83
1	1	9	2	7	14	2	1	14	1	13	16	81
1	1	10	0	9	14	3	1	11	5	10	10	75
1	1	11	2	11	14	3	1	15	4	14	14	91
1	1	11	1	10	14	3	0	15	6	10	13	85
1	1	7	2	10	16	3	1	15	6	13	14	89
0	0	7	1	9	15	3	1	14	3	10	14	77
1	1	10	2	11	14	3	0	13	5	13	17	90
1	1	9	2	7	14	2	0	8	6	8	15	73
0	0	8	1	8	5	1	0	9	6	12	7	57
1	1	11	0	9	14	3	1	13	5	8	8	74
0	1	9	2	7	15	3	1	14	4	10	12	78
1	1	9	2	10	14	3	1	13	6	9	9	78
1	1	9	1	10	16	3	1	12	6	11	13	84
Maximum Totals possible.												
1	1	11	2	11	16	3	1	15	6	14	17	98

Key:-

- CM = Coloured Male
Wmi = White Male (when compared with coloured male)
P = Policeman
WMii = White Male (when compared with policeman)
H = Hippy
BM = Businessman
CF = Coloured Female
WFi = White Female (when compared with coloured female)
Ni = Nurse (when compared with white female)
WFii = White Female (when compared with nurse)
Nii = Nurse (when compared with model)
M = Model

Discussion of Results

The degree of personal stereotypy evinced by the subjects in this experiment was virtually negligible. When an attempt was made to compare the constructs given for the 'duplicated stimuli figures', there was scant duplication of constructs. Only a few subjects (16 in all) produced one or more adjectives that overlapped the two presentations of a stimulus figure, and this is not a sufficient number to make the acceptance of the premise possible. (The majority of the sixteen subjects who produced an 'overlapping' adjective, only produced one such word - altogether 12 subjects.)

The other point of the analysis where 'personal' stereotypy might be shown to exist is when a comparison is made of the adjectives produced as 'constructs' and the adjectives that are used when the same stimulus figures are presented as individuals in a 'story-telling' situation. Elicited constructs were not commonly carried through into story descriptions. Only twenty-four out of the sixty subjects produced any adjectives that were found both as 'constructs' and as part of the story descriptions, and out of these twenty-four, only seven produced more than one example. Of these seven, only two mentioned any of the racial stimuli, (i.e. either black person or white person). Only seven 'duplicated' adjectives applied to these 'racial' categories - the occupational stimulus figures receiving

more (see Table 1 for exact adjectives). This is in line with the trend reported in experiments two and three - namely that occupational stimulus figures produced more alignment of response. If personal stereotypy were to exist, then it should be evidenced in the overlapping of the outcome of the two types of elicitation procedure used here, because they provide examples of both structured and unstructured situations within which the subject could have responded; if any 'key' personally stereotypical adjectives had appeared, then they should have been shown in both situations - if any 'construct' had appeared in only one of the situations, then it might just be a specific response rather than characteristic of an individual's 'personal stereotypy'. Thus the possibility that 'personal' stereotypy might have affected the character of the results obtained does not seem to have been confirmed.

The second part of the analysis was concerned also with the stories that the subjects had produced. Although this 'story production' section did not produce evidence of frequent personal stereotypy, the stories produced by the subjects are interesting in their own right, as indicators of how the subjects expressed their attitudes to the stimulus figures. One of the most interesting sentences from the stories produced, was this from subject two in her story concerning the nurse and the white female, in which her story describes the nurse as behaving as -

"a good honest upright citizen like she believes a nurse should be."

which in itself contains the essence of what is usually acknowledged to be the 'traditional' stereotype of the nurse.

Within the four out of the six pictures presented to the subjects, where a subsidiary figure is present as well as the 'main' figures, the subsidiary figure has been the 'hero' of the narrative more often than the 'main' figures. There are a large number of cases (67 in all) where the main figures have been regarded as incidental to the narrative (full details of how the stories are broken down, appear in Table 2); and there are many cases where the main figures are mentioned, but not described in any way. As had been postulated in the section concerning the construction of the test, very often the stories where the stimulus figures of nurse or policeman were involved, the emphasis was on the job-orientation and job-characteristics in the descriptions. For a few subjects where the nurse is mentioned the implications of their stories were that 'nurses' are always 'on duty' and that they were conscientious and helpful (again the essence of the traditional stereotype).

Policemen are always seen as being on duty, and there is a prevalence of stories concerning his role in catching

criminals; (the white male stimulus figure often seen in the role of criminal, although the stimulus drawing depicts them as non-interacting, and even not looking at each other). It would seem from these descriptions that the individuals in the 'occupational' category are not seen as apart from the role that they play, and that the characteristics that are necessary or said to be necessary for the job, are applied in 'blanket form' to the individual. The general impression of the stories can be summarised as follows:

(These impressions have been formulated by an 'independent' judge.)

Narrative One involving COLOURED MALE and WHITE MALE

Here the general impression of the coloured male is that he is more sympathetic than the white male; with better motives being imputed to the former than to the latter. Also it is sometimes mentioned that the coloured male was aware of and sometimes fearful of the effects of prejudice (an impression that perhaps reflects the student subjects' concern with prejudice and its portrayal).

Narrative Two involving NURSE and WHITE FEMALE

The nurse for the most part is viewed sympathetically, more so than the white female. Some stories imply that

people are more willing to be helpful to nurses than to other sections of the community. The nurse is more often identified as being the 'hero' of the narrative, which might indicate the centrality of the job role for society. Two stories imply that nurses (at least in the stereotypic sense), have a facade which is dropped when they are off duty (see above quotation from one of the stories). However, only in one narrative is the tone negative concerning the nurse.

Narrative Three involving BUSINESSMAN and HIPPY

For the majority of the stories these two figures play a subsidiary role to that of the 'subsidiary' figure of the hitch hiker. However, it is interesting to note that the negative aura that some stories give the hippy, is attributed to the mind of the businessman, i.e. the businessman thinks that the hippy is dirty, lazy etc. (again the essence of what one would expect the 'traditional' stereotype to be). Feelings of violence are often imputed to the businessman towards the hippy. The businessman is often seen in a negative light, even though the whole story might not reflect this negativism.

Narrative Four involving COLOURED FEMALE and WHITE FEMALE

Here there is little description of the two 'main' stimuli figures (this is the picture that produced the

greatest occurrence of non-descriptive adjectives for either of the stimulus figures). Both are described as being ineffectual in dealing with the situation with which they are presented, and in one story the coloured female is described as being overtly aggressive. The general impression is that the white female is more potentially helpful and positive than the coloured female, (cf. the difference between the way the coloured male and coloured female are viewed). Often in these particular descriptions, it is difficult to differentiate the two characters, and this had to be done through the subjects' descriptions of the two characters as to where they were standing etc.

Narrative Five involving MODEL and NURSE

For the majority of the stories, the general impression is that the model is viewed more negatively than the nurse, but the nurse is not seen as being philanthropic, but as merely doing her job. Thus the premise that was put forward when the stimulus drawings were designed would seem to be borne out, i.e. when a nurse is put in a potential helping situation, she is only seen as doing her job. No mention is made in this particular set of stories of the nurse's role as being a facade, and here, it is also interesting to note, is the only section where any subject seemed to have any difficulty in distinguishing the occupations of the stimulus figures. There was one misidentification for the nurse and one misidentification for the model.

In the latter case, the 'model' is not often mentioned as such, but is just described as an 'elegant woman' - perhaps therefore the 'model' stimulus situation is not bringing out the stereotype of model, but rather the stereotypical views of dress.

Narrative Six involving POLICEMAN and WHITE MALE

As might have been expected, the majority of the stories produced for this section were of the 'cops and robbers' variety - obviously stimulated by the presence of the policeman. Throughout the twenty stories there is little direct description of the two stimuli figures. Here, as with the stimulus figure of 'nurse', the policeman is seen as 'doing his job', and all his actions are described within this framework. Sometimes the policeman's actions are described as being necessary but undesirable.

These then were the types of stories and viewpoints that were put forward within the stories by the overall sixty subjects (20 subjects per picture). The general impression analysis serves to illustrate the concept that has underlain the whole of this experimental section, i.e. that implicit within the comments made in these stories is the fact that for occupational categories, certainly there is a knowledge of what the 'traditional' or 'social' stereotypes of these figures are. This is not shown for the

racial categories in such a definite form, the majority of the stories concerning the 'racial' characters being 'neutral' in tone and description, but is shown (though less obtrusively) for the businessman and hippy 'dress' categories.

At this point, we come to the third part of the analysis, concerned with the frequency counts of the adjectives produced by the subjects as possible constructs, in order to attempt to assess whether 'traditional' stereotypy of any form was being evinced. For each of the twelve stimulus categories (i.e. the nine stimulus figures and their duplications), adjectives that can be deemed stereotypical (in that they reached the required level of consensus) appeared for each section. An interesting finding is that the calibre of adjectives for the duplicated stimulus figures differs, depending on what the comparison stimulus figure is. This 'differentiation' is most marked for the white stimulus figures.

<u>White Male</u>	<u>Vs Coloured Male</u>	<u>Vs Policeman</u>
	Ordinary	Solitary
		Quiet

<u>White Female</u>	<u>Vs Coloured Female</u>	<u>Vs Nurse</u>
	Young	Calculating
		Demanding
		Aloof
		Reflective
		Independent
		Confident

<u>Nurse</u>	<u>Vs White Female</u>	<u>Vs Model</u>
	Gentle *	Gentle *
	Generous	Honest
	Patient	Pleasant
	Dedicated *	Dedicated *
	Hard Working *	Hard Working *
	Kind *	Kind *
	Friendly	Caring
	Practical *	Practical *
	Sympathetic *	Sympathetic *
	Capable	Dependable
	Cool	Calm
	Active *	Active *
	Efficient *	Efficient *
	Busy	Eager to Please
	Neat	

There is greater constancy for the stimulus figure of 'nurse' despite the difference in comparison figure, whilst the white stimulus figure seems to be more fluid. Eight adjectives lie in common for the nurse, whilst there is no overlap for either of the white figures. Thus there seems to be a clear stereotype for 'nurse' but not for 'white male' or 'white female' - and this would be expected.

As with the previous experiments, the occupational categories produced greater consensus than the racial categories. The dress/occupational section with the stimulus figures of *trippy* and *businessman* produced results which also have been expected, on the basis of consistency within overall grouping.

Of the 4 significant relationships IN TABLE FOUR, the only incongruity would appear to be that of Policeman/Nurse; this could be explained by the greater number of stereotypical adjectives produced for these two categories and therefore a greater chance that subjects would be endorsing some of them, which in turn would lead to greater expectation of significant relationships.

As with the previous experiment, this sparsity of significant relationships might possibly be explained by the fact that the maximum number of adjectives that could be produced by any subject for any stimulus figure would be

eight - again a limiting number when subjects are given an open choice of adjectives.

When the stereotype endorsement scores of the twenty 'objective' judges are viewed (see Table 5), again only a minority of rho's were significant. Out of a possible total of 66 relationships only nine reached the 0.05 level (i.e. 14 per cent). Nurse (vs white female)/Nurse (vs model) was significant as was white female (vs nurse)/white female (vs coloured female) but again the comparisons for the white male were non-significant. Hippy was significantly related to both presentations of the nurse. The other significant relationships were - Nurse/Model (vs nurse): consistent within the overall grouping of occupation; white male (vs policeman)/model; white male (vs policeman)/nurse (vs model). These latter two results seem to be random. When purely 'racial' stimuli are compared with each other for significant relationships, the only one that exists is that of coloured male and white male, (vs policeman) which is consistent within the overall category of race. For the others, however, there are no significant relationships, therefore it cannot be accepted that generality is a completely sustainable concept.

Conclusions

For this experiment, the concept of 'social' stereotypy being used by subjects seems a more likely proposition

than the postulated 'personal stereotype' - however as with the previous experiments, the stereotype content for the racial categories is not of the expected sort. Although the main hypothesis of the experiment had to be rejected (i.e. that personal stereotype exists), the experimental design (both for the 'construct' and the story sections) seems to have brought out suggestions that subjects know what the content of the 'traditional' stereotypes are (as evinced by certain suggestive phrases and overall impressions gained from their stories), but that they do not use these stereotypes completely when they are faced with a direct allocation task.

As with the previous experiments, the concept of generality cannot be fully accepted or rejected on the basis of the results obtained here. There is some indication of generality occurring within overall groupings (e.g. occupational grouping) but this is not apparent for all the combinations of stimuli within such an overall category.

Experiment Five

In the four experiments so far, the stable stereotypes that have been elicited have been scanty. The techniques that have been used, have in others' work seemed to be satisfactory, so perhaps the reason for this lack of consensus, and reluctance of subjects to make extreme judgements, lies in the fact that, up to this point, the subject population has always been a student one. The reasons for such a choice have been pragmatic and cautious. Admittedly Gilbert (1951) has warned of the need for great care to be taken when students, who are certainly in many ways a select population, are used as subjects. For this reason the experimental situations that have been reported here, utilised disguised techniques, with the purported aim of the experiment being an exercise in person perception. Given this precaution, and also given that other experimenters have used student populations (since the Gilbert paper) with success, totally aberrant results would not be expected to occur.

However, in the light of diversity of results obtained within a student population, it seems reasonable to conduct a comparison between a student population and an 'outside' population, to see whether there is more consensuality amongst the judgements given by another population. Out of all the categories of stimuli used so far, it would seem that the

particular area where divergence in judgement might be expected to be found would be the area concerning racial stimuli. Students are usually strongly against racial prejudice and might be presumed to guard against the cliché judgement of racial stimuli. Occupational stimuli would be expected to produce few if any differences in the judgements made by the different populations. Thus the Hypothesis to be tested in this experiment is as follows:

- a. That any differences in the judgements made by a student and another population would occur in the responses to the racial categories.

The hypothesis that 'generality' would occur in a non-student population was also tested.

Methodology

Choice of Stimuli: The stimuli chosen for this experiment were part of the stimulus categories that had been used in previous experiments. Because populations other than a student one were to be used, slide presentation of photographs was not feasible. Therefore, category labels were used as headings; it was hypothesised that a non-student population would not react unfavourable to the idea of racial categories being portrayed through this method. Thus the category labels that were presented were:

Racial Categories: Black Person
White Person

Occupational Categories: Nurse
 Model
 Policeman

Dress/Occupational Categories: Hippy
 Businessman

Christian names were discarded as potential stereotype group, because they had proved to be the least fruitful of the previously utilised groups. In fact from the categories that had been used in the previous semantic differential format (sixteen in all) the ones that have been omitted were the ones that had been the least productive, (i.e. the four Christian name categories, two female 'dress' styles and occupational category of train guard). The variations of sex within these categories that had been tested in a previous experiment, had proved to engender few differences in response and were omitted also. This brought the number of categories to be judged down to the seven mentioned above, which were presented in the final test booklet.

Choice of Subjects: The ideal population to be used in a comparison of this sort, would be a random cross-section of the community - but this would be extremely difficult to achieve with any degree of economy of time and effort. The subjects would also have to fall within approximately the same age band as those student subjects who would be used. Thus it was decided to use those subjects who had left

school, but who had not gone on to further full-time education. They were found in a technical college, where the majority of the members (and certainly those used as subjects) were day release or block release apprentices. There were thirty-five subjects, ranging in age from 15 to 22, with an average age of 17 years. It was also decided to see whether age would affect the types of judgements produced and a sample from two years of a comprehensive school was selected. Again, thirty-five subjects were taken from the 3rd and 4th year of the school, where the pupils were still doing a wide range of subjects, and had not chosen any potential job or career. They were aged between 13 and 15 years with an average age of 14. These school and technical college populations could be regarded as distinct from the student population and probably nearer in aims and perceptions to a random cross section of the community.

As a student group, twenty-four people who wished to become university students, taken from a pool of applicants for psychology undergraduate course were used, but none of them had specialised in any aspect of psychology. These subjects fell within the age range of 17 to 22 years.

Choice of Measuring Technique: The semantic differential technique, which had been used in an earlier experiment (Experiment Two) was chosen as being the most appropriate device for this particular experiment because it is simple

to complete and is an economic method. Roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour had been set aside for testing and the material tailored to fit the time available.

Choice of Adjectival Scales: Only sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales were used in this experiment (as opposed to the twenty bi-polar scales used in the previous semantic differential experiment). The reduction in the number of scales was due to the time constraints placed upon the experiment.

The recent Gardner and Taylor work (1972) on stereotypes within the French and English Canadian student population had used certain adjectival scales that were clearly evaluative. Three of these scales were introduced into this experiment and repeated for each stimulus category, (i.e. stupid/intelligent; reliable/unreliable; pleasant/unpleasant; appeared on each semantic differential sheet).

A sub experiment which will be discussed later had been run prior to this. In it subjects produced what they believed were part of the traditional stereotype about a particular category. Five of these adjectives and their appropriate opposites were included amongst the sixteen bi-polar scales for the relevant category to see whether they would in fact be endorsed as stereotypical.

The other eight bi-polar adjectival scales were taken

from the original semantic differential experiment - which reflected the Katz and Braly scales and the Warr, Faust and Harrison scales (see page 99). These were chosen because in the first semantic differential experiment, they all received extreme means. The stimulus categories that were chosen fall into three categories - racial, occupational, and dress/occupational. Thus there were three sets of sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales which were as follows:

Key: Ev. = Evaluative; St. = 'stereotypical';
G = 'General' semantic differential scales

Racial Categories

Stupid/Intelligent	(Ev.)
Pleasant/Unpleasant	(Ev.)
Reliable/Unreliable	(Ev.)
Reserved/Outgoing	(S)
Musical/Unmusical	(S)
Honest/Dishonest	(S)
Colourful/Colourless	(S)
Dirty/Clean	(S)
Humble/Proud	(G)
Religious/Irreligious	(G)
Sophisticated/Naive	(G)
Talkative/Taciturn	(G)
Affected/Natural	(G)
Lazy/Hard Working	(G)
Happy/Sad	(G)
Sensitive/Insensitive	(G)

Occupational Categories

Stupid/Intelligent	(Ev.)
Pleasant/Unpleasant	(Ev.)
Reliable/Unreliable	(Ev.)
Efficient/Inefficient	(S)
Helpful/Unhelpful	(S)
Lazy/Hard Working	(S)
Dedicated/Uncommitted	(S)
Strong/Weak	(S)
Staid/Eccentric	(G)
Rugged/Delicate	(G)
Precise/Imprecise	(G)
Adventurous/Unadventurous	(G)
Sophisticated/Naive	(G)
Stable/Changeable	(G)
Colourful/Colourless	(G)
Kind/Unkind	(G)

Dress/Occupational Categories

Stupid/Intelligent	(Ev.)
Pleasant/Unpleasant	(Ev.)
Reliable/Unreliable	(Ev.)
Smart/Shabby	(S)
Clean/Dirty	(S)
Conventional/Unconventional	(S)
Poor/Rich	(S)
Lazy/Hard Working	(S)
Precise/Imprecise	(S)
Excited/Reserved	(G)
Staid/Eccentric	(G)
Sophisticated/Naive	(G)
Greedy/Generous	(G)
Artistic/Unartistic	(G)
Follower/Leader	(G)

Format and Instructions

Subjects were first presented with the semantic differential booklet. Because of the differing linguistic and conceptual ability that one would expect to find in the school and technical college populations each bi-polar adjectival scale was explained as to its meaning, before the instructions for the experiment were given. (The student population did not require this option of explanation of the adjectives although they were asked if they needed it). Whenever possible the definition of an adjective was supplied by someone within the group who happened to know the meaning of the word. If needed to conform to the standard dictionary definition of the word, further explanatory phrases were added by the experimenter. Some time was devoted to this part of the experiment and the subjects were not hurried in any way, so as to be reasonably certain that they understood the meanings.

Then the instructions were given. These were more or less identical to the original Osgood instructions, modifications being made for ease of understanding by the technical college and school populations. What each scalar position meant was written upon a blackboard, so that the subjects could refer to them during the course of the experiment. (For exact instructions see previous 'Osgood format' used in Experiment Two Page 102). Subjects were asked if they had any queries and these were then answered. No time limit

was set for this task. Subjects were asked not to collaborate with others. No subjects expressed any difficulty or dissatisfaction with the task and no one failed to complete any part of it.

Analysis of Results

The analysis for this design was very similar to that conducted on the previous semantic differential experiment (Experiment Two). The mean positions awarded to each bipolar adjectival scale was found - mean positions being the standard unit for analysis.

To test the main hypothesis in this experiment, ("that any differences in the judgements made by a student and another population, would occur in the responses to a racial category"), a planned comparison analysis of variance was applied to the data. For the categories of Black person and White person, this planned comparison was applied to each of the sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales for each of the two characters, (so that the hypothesis could be fully tested). For the remaining five categories (covering occupations and occupations/dress style) a planned comparison analysis of variance was carried out on those adjectival scales where the mean spread of judgements for the three populations under study, was one scale position or more. (For the most part the categories of nurse, policeman, model, hippy and businessman had very close agreement between the three populations, with regards to mean judgements on each

bi-polar adjectival scale.) A planned comparison analysis of variance requires that a differential weighting be given to the population where it is hypothesized that the difference will lie (in this case the student population). This weighting will then be carried with the scores throughout the analysis; thus if a significant result is obtained, it is apparent that the significant difference between the three populations lies in the direction of the population that has received the loaded weighting. The results that were obtained from this planned comparison appear in Table 1. It is only at this point that the analysis is concerned with differences between the three populations.

From this point each population was treated as being independent, and the aim of the analysis was to see what measure of traditional stereotypy, and what measure of 'generality' would (if any) occur. To test this the criterion of consensuality, and the same criterion of minimum judgement was used as had been utilised in Experiment Two, i.e. one interval place either side of the mean, unless the upper or lower limits fell within the neutral . . . band determined the range of consensuality, and again 31.74 per cent of subjects (outside one standard deviation either side of the mean of a normal distribution curve) would be allowed to make judgements outside criterion before the adjective would be considered non-stereotypical. This would be eleven for both the school and technical college populations,

(0.3174 of thirty-five subjects = 11.11) and would be eight for the student population (0.3174 of twenty-four subjects = 7.6, and this was taken to the nearest decimal point). After these criteria had been settled a simple frequency count determined which adjectives could be regarded as stereotypical. The bi-polar scales with the number of subjects who made judgements outside the range of consensus alongside, appear in Tables 2a, 2b and 2c. Tables 3a, 3b and 3c give the stereotypical adjectives obtained from each population.

It is these stereotypical adjectives that provide the basis for the 'generality' relationships. The generality scores for the subjects of the three populations are presented in TABLE SIX. Their distribution is shown by a bar diagram in Table 4.

Spearman's Rho correlations were carried out between subjects' stereotype scores in different categories to see whether stereotypical endorsement of one category was related to stereotypical endorsement of another category. The inter-correlational matrices for these three populations appear as Table 5.

Results Obtained in Experiment Five

List of Tables

- Table One: Planned comparison analysis of variance scores for the relevant scales, for each category.
- Table Two A: Bi-polar Scales and number of scores outside consensuality zone school population.
- Table Two B: Bi-polar Scales and number of scores outside consensuality zone technical college population.
- Table Two C: Bi-polar Scales and number of scores outside consensuality zone student population.
- Table Three A: Stereotypical Adjectives for School Population.
- Table Three B: Stereotypical Adjectives for Technical College Population.
- Table Three C: Stereotypical Adjectives for Student Population.
- Table Four: Distribution of 'totalled stereotype endorsement' scores for the three populations.
- Table Five: Inter-correlational matrices of 'stereotype endorsement' scores for the three populations.
- Table Six A: Stereotype endorsement scores for school subjects.
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- Table Six C: Stereotype endorsement scores for student subjects.

'F' scores for the sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales for the racial category. - Three Populations compared.

Black Person

Stupid / Intelligent	:	F = .0046	non sig
Pleasant / Unpleasant	:	F = .088	non sig
Reliable / Unreliable	:	F = .065	non sig
Reserved / Outgoing	:	F = .0034	non sig
Musical / Unmusical	:	F = .0119	non sig
Honest / Dishonest	:	F = .0057	non sig
Colourful / Colourless	:	F = .035	non sig
Dirty / Clean	:	F = .0218	non sig
Humble / Proud	:	F = .1306	non sig
Religious / Irreligious	:	F = .0206	non sig
Sophisticated / Naive	:	F = .0036	non sig
Talkative / Taciturn	:	F = .0203	non sig
Affected / Natural	:	F = .0086	non sig
Lazy / Hard working	:	F = .1233	non sig
Happy / Sad	:	F = .0376	non sig
Sensitive / Insensitive	:	F = .014	non sig

'F' scores for the sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales for the racial category.- Three Populations Compared

English Person

Stupid / Intelligent	:	F = .0579	non sig
Pleasant / Unpleasant	:	F = .0127	non sig
Reliable / Unreliable	:	F = .0918	non sig
Reserved / Outgoing	:	F = .1957	non sig
Musical / Unmusical	:	F = .0217	non sig
Honest / Dishonest	:	F = .0206	non sig
Colourful / Colourless	:	F = .0493	non sig
Dirty / Clean	:	F = .0288	non sig
Humble / Proud	:	F = .0508	non sig
Religious / Irreligious	:	F = .0597	non sig
Sophisticated / Naive	:	F = .0155	non sig
Talkative / Taciturn	:	F = .0207	non sig
Affected / Natural	:	F = .04	non sig
Lazy / Hard working	:	F = .0572	non sig
Happy / Sad	:	F = .1214	non sig
Sensitive / Insensitive	:	F = .1937	non sig

TABLE ONE (cont')

'F' scores for the relevant scales for the occupational and dress/ occupational categories.- Three Populations compared.

Nurse

Stupid / Intelligent : F = .1173 non sig.

Policeman

Stupid / Intelligent : F = .169 non sig

Pleasant / Unpleasant : F = .156 non sig

Reliable / Unreliable : F = .0415 non sig

Helpful / Unhelpful : F = .076 non sig

Colourful / Colourless : F = .117 non sig

Kind / Unkind : F = .371 non sig.

Model

Precise / Imprecise : F = .0338 non sig

Sophisticated / Naive : F = .188 non sig

Colourful / Colourless : F = .197 non sig

Hippy

Stupid / Intelligent : F = .3353 non sig

Pleasant / Unpleasant : F = .053 non sig

Clean / Dirty : F = .164 non sig

Conventional / Uncon.1 : F = .195 non sig

Businessman

Stupid / Intelligent : F = .112 non sig

Conventional/ Uncon.1 : F = .044 non sig

Greedy/ Generous : F = .125 non sig

TABLE TWO (a)

Bi-polar adjectival scales sorted for consensuality of judgement - SCHOOL population. (numbers alongside indicate how many judgements fall outside the zone of consensuality - critical number of judgements must be less than eleven if the adjective is to be stereotypical. Adjectives asterisked indicate that they have fulfilled the criterion.)

Black Person

Musical / Unmusical	19
Col.ful / Col.less	11*
Dirty / Clean	30
Religious / Irreligious	11*
Talkative / Taciturn	18
H. Working / Lazy	22
Happy / Sad	19
Sensitive / Insensitive	19

English Person

Stupid / Intelligent	17
Pleasant / Unpleasant	18
Reliable / Unreliable	19
Dishonest / Honest	17
Dirty / Clean	4 *
Humble / Proud	13
Talkative / Taciturn	11*
H. Working / Lazy	22
Happy / Sad	12
Sensitive / Insensitive	18

Nurse

Stupid / Intelligent	1*
Pleasant / Unpleasant	1*
Reliable / Unreliable	2*
Efficient / Inefficient	2*
Helpful / Unhelpful	2*
Lazy / H. Working	2*
Dedicated / Uncommitted	3*
Adventurous / Unadven.	16
Strong / Weak	16
Staid / Eccentric	24
Precise / Imprecise	6*
Stable / Changable	14
Kind / Unkind	2*

Policeman

Stupid / Intelligent	5*
Reliable / Unreliable	23
Efficient / Inefficient	20
Helpful / Unhelpful	4*
Lazy / H. Working	5*
Dedicated / Uncommitted	18
Adventurous / Unadven.	17
Strong / Weak	5*
Staid / Eccentric	15
Rugged / Delicate	10*
Precise / Imprecise	18
Stable / Changable	20
Kind / Unkind	11*

Model

Stupid / Intelligent	23
Pleasant / Unpleasant	22
Reliable / Unreliable	22
Efficient / Inefficient	19
Dedicated / Uncommitted	14
Adventurous / Unadven.	20
Staid / Eccentric	21
Rugged / Delicate	10*
Col.ful / Col.less	9*
Kind / Unkind	20

Hippy

Stupid / Intelligent	26
Reliable / Unreliable	5*
Smart / Shabby	0*
Clean / Dirty	2*
Conventional / Unconven.	26
Poor / Rich	18
H. Working / Lazy	6*
Precise / Imprecise	24
Staid / Eccentric	24
Sophisticated / Naive	23
Artistic / Unartistic	19
Happy / Sad	21

Businessman

Stupid / Intelligent	3*
Reliable / Unreliable	18
Smart / Shabby	0*
Clean / Dirty	1*
Conventional / Unconven.	24
Poor / Rich	6*
H. Working / Lazy	15
Precise / Imprecise	17
Sophisticated / Naive	22
Artistic / Unartistic	21
Follower / Leader	20

TABLE TWO (b)

Bi-polar adjectival scales, sorted for consensuality of judgement - TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION. (numbers alongside indicate how many judgements fall outside the zone of consensuality - critical number of judgements must be less than eleven if the adjective is to be stereotypical. Adjectives asterisked indicate that they have fulfilled the criterion.)

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Black Person

Pleasant / Unpleasant	15
Reserved / Outgoing	21
Musical / Unmusical	20
Col.ful / Col.less	11*
Religious / Irrelig.	11*
Talkative / Taciturn	17
Affected / Natural	19
H. Working / Lazy	19
Happy / Sad	9*
Sensitive / Insensitive	15

English Person

Stupid / Intelligent	13
Reserved / Outgoing	18
Musical / Unmusical	21
Dirty / Clean	9*
Humble / Proud	4*
Sophisticated / Naive	20
Talkative / Taciturn	14
Happy / Sad	16
Sensitive / Insensitive	9*

Nurse

Stupid / Intelligent	4*
Pleasant / Unpleasant	3*
Reliable / Unreliable	6*
Efficient / Inefficient	3*
Helpful / Unhelpful	5*
Dedicated / Uncommitted	6*
Strong / Weak	16
Staid / Eccentric	20
Precise / Imprecise	12
Col.ful / Col.less	17
Stable / Changable	14
Kind / Unkind	1*
H. Working / Lazy	4*
Rugged / Delicate	23

Policeman

Reliable / Unreliable	18
Efficient / Inefficient	18
Helpful / Unhelpful	14
Dedicated / Uncommitted	18
Adventurous / Unadven.	21
Strong / Weak	6*
Staid / Eccentric	19
Rugged / Delicate	9*
Precise / Imprecise	11*

Model

Pleasant / Unpleasant	15
Dedicated / Uncommitt.	21
Adventurous / Unadven.	18
Strong / Weak	17
Rugged / Delicate	14
Sophisticated / Naive	15
Col.ful / Col.less	7*
Stable / Changable	16
Kind / Unkind	21

Hippy

Reliable / Unreliable	21
Smart / Shabby	11*
Clean / Dirty	8*
Conventional / Uncon.	8*
H. Working / Lazy	11*
Precise / Imprecise	19
Excitable / Reserved	22
Staid / Eccentric	26
Greedy / Generous	22
Artistic / Unartistic	14
Follower / Leader	20
Happy / Sad	19

Businessman

Stupid / Intelligent	2*
Reliable / Unreliable	19
Smart / Shabby	5*
Clean / Dirty	3*
Conventional / Uncon.	10*
Poor / Rich	6*
H. Working / Lazy	19
Precise / Imprecise	15
Staid / Eccentric	17
Sophisticated / Naive	10*
Greedy / Generous	20
Artistic / Unartistic	19
Follower / Leader	11*

TABLE TWO (c)

Bi-polar adjectival scales, sorted for consensuality of judgement - STUDENT POPULATION. (Numbers alongside indicate how many judgements fall outside the zone of consensuality - critical number of judgements must be less than eight if the adjective is to be stereotypical. Adjectives asterisked indicate that they have fulfilled the criterion.)

Black Person

Pleasant /Unpleasant	8*
Musical /Unmusical	9
Col.ful / Col.less	5*
Humble/ Proud	11
Religious / Irrelig	14
Talkative/ Taciturn	12
Affected / Natural	9
Happy / Sad	9
Sensitive/ Insensitive	7*

English Person

Reserved /Outgoing	7*
Honest /Dishonest	12
Col.ful/ Col.less	11
Dirty / Olean	8*
Humble / Proud	12
Talkative / Taciturn	10
Affected / Natural	9

Nurse

Stupid / Intelligent	7*
Pleasant /Unpleasant	7*
Reliable /Unreliable	4*
Efficient /Inefficient	0*
Helpful /Unhelpful	1*
H. Working/ Lazy	1*
Dedicated/ Uncommitted	2*
Staid / Eccentric	12
Rugged / Delicate	13
Adventurous / Unadven.	7*
Col.ful /Col.less	4*
Kind /Unkind	4*

Policeman

Stupid / Intelligent	12
Pleasant/ Unpleasant	7*
Reliable /Unreliable	2*
Efficient /Inefficient	7*
Helpful / Inhelpful	3*
H. Working / Lazy	11
Dedicated / Unommitted	8*
Strong /Weak	13
Staid / Eccentric	4*
Rugged /Delicate	10
Precise /Imprecise	3*
Adventurous /Unadven.	11
Col.ful /Col.less	3*
Kind / Unkind	7*

Model

Stupid/ Intelligent	14
H.Working/ Lazy	10
Dedicated /Uncommitted	15
Strong /Weak	9
Rugged / Delicate	6*
Precise / Imprecise	12
Sophisticated /Naive	6*
Stable / Changable	5*
Col.ful / Col.less	2*

Hippy

Pleasant /Unpleasant	9
Reliable/ Unreliable	4*
Smart / Shabby	1*
Clean / Dirty	7*
Conventional /Unconven.	0*
Poor / Rich	10
H. Working / Lazy	13
Precise / Imprecise	12
Excitable / Reserved	9
Staid / Eccentric	3*
Greedy / Generous	14
Artistic/ Unartistic	5*
Precise / Imprecise	12
Follower / Leader	13

Businessman

Stupid / Intelligent	4*
Reliable/Unreliable	10
Smart / Shabby	2*
Clean / Dirty	4*
Conventional /Unconven.	4*
Poor / Rich	1*
H. working / Lazy	7*
Precise / Imprecise	2*
Excitable / Reserved	10
Staid / Eccentric	7*
Sophisticated /Naive	3*
Greedy / Generous	8*
Artistic / Unartistic	5*
Precise / Imprecise	10

Table Three A

Table showing adjectives which can be regarded as being stereotypical, supplied by the School Population

(Based on consensuality scores)

<u>Black Person</u>		<u>English Person</u>	
Colourful		Clean	
Religious		Talkative	
<u>Nurse</u>	<u>Policeman</u>	<u>Model</u>	
Intelligent	Intelligent	Delicate	
Pleasant	Helpful	Colourful	
Reliable	Hard working		
Efficient	Strong		
Helpful	Rugged		
Hard working	Kind		
Dedicated			
Precise			
Kind			
<u>Hippy</u>		<u>Businessman</u>	
Unreliable		Intelligent	
Shabby		Smart	
Dirty		Clean	
Lazy		Rich	

Table Three B

Table showing adjectives which can be regarded as being
stereotypical, supplied by the Technical College Population

<u>Black Person</u>		<u>English Person</u>
Colourful		Clean
Religious		Proud
Happy		Sensitive
<u>Nurse</u>	<u>Policeman</u>	<u>Model</u>
Intelligent	Strong	Colourful
Pleasant	Rugged	
Reliable	Precise	
Efficient		
Helpful		
Dedicated		
Kind		
Hard working		
<u>Hippy</u>	<u>Businessman</u>	
Shabby	Intelligent	
Dirty	Smart	
Unconventional	Clean	
Lazy	Conventional	
	Rich	
	Sophisticated	
	Leader	

Table Three C

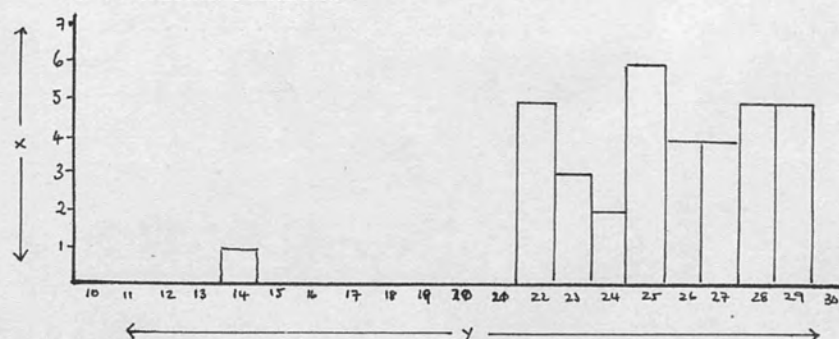
Table showing adjectives which can be regarded as being
stereotypical, supplied by the Student Population

<u>Black Person</u>		<u>English Person</u>
Pleasant		Reserved
Sensitive		Clean
Colourful		
<u>Nurse</u>	<u>Policeman</u>	<u>Model</u>
Intelligent	Pleasant	Delicate
Pleasant	Reliable	Sophisticated
Reliable	Efficient	Colourful
Efficient	Helpful	
Helpful	Dedicated	
Hard working	Staid	
Dedicated	Precise	
Adventurous	Colourless	
Colourless	Kind	
Kind		
<u>Hippy</u>	<u>Businessman</u>	
Unreliable	Intelligent	
Shabby	Smart	
Dirty	Clean	
Unconventional	Conventional	
Eccentric	Rich	
Artistic	Hard working	
	Precise	
	Staid	
	Naive	
	Greedy	
	Unartistic	

TABLE FOUR

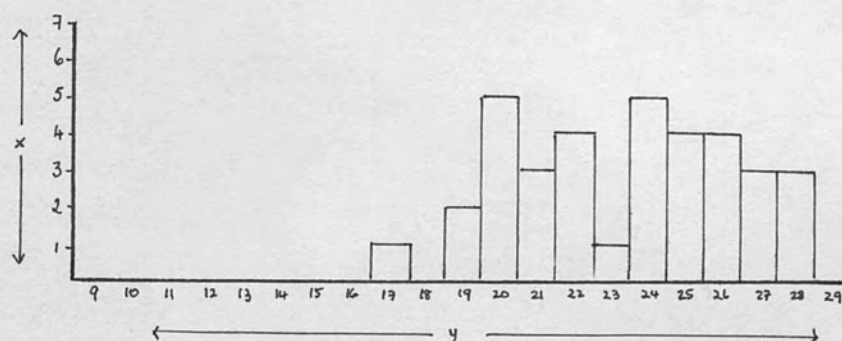
Diagram to show the distribution of 'totalled stereotype endorsement scores' for the three populations.

School Population



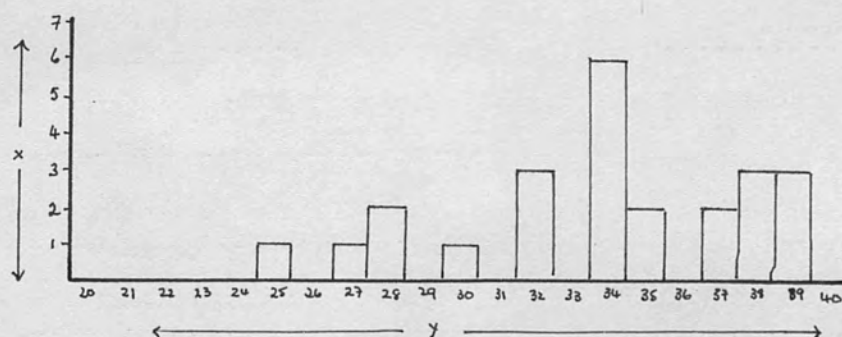
No of Sbjs = 35
Max score = 29

Technical College Population



No of Sbjs = 35
Max score = 28

Student Population



No of Sbjs = 35
Max score = 45

TABLE FIVE

Inter-Correlational Matrices of stereotype endorsement
scores for the three populations (* = sig at .05 level)

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Technical college population

	BUSINESSMAN	HIPPY	MODEL	POLICEMAN	NURSE	ENGLISH PERSON
BLACK PERSON	.317 *	.194	-.365 *	.346 *	.152	.283
ENGLISH PERSON	.410 *	-.214	.147	.239	.249	
NURSE	-.035	.058	.121	.124		
POLICEMAN	.388 *	.155	-.238			
MODEL	.0077	-.112				
HIPPY	.062					

School Population

	BUSINESSMAN	HIPPY	MODEL	POLICEMAN	NURSE	ENGLISH PERSON
BLACK PERSON	.458 *	.292	.319 *	.124	.208	.225
ENGLISH PERSON	.602 *	.372 *	.077	-.078	-.046	
NURSE	.126	-.034	.084	.265		
POLICEMAN	.035	-.118	.212			
MODEL	.022	.15				
HIPPY	.473 *					

TABLE FIVE (cont')

Inter-correlational matrices for the three populations, continued

Student population

	BUSINESSMAN	HIPPY	MODEL	POLICEMAN	NURSE	ENGLISH PERSON.
BLACK PERSON	.15	.035	.216	.107	-.008	.116
ENGLISH PERSON	.228	.238	.097	.471	-.21	
NURSE	.227	-.147	.286	.09		
POLICEMAN	-.031	.49	-.087			
MODEL	.15	.027				
HIPPY	-.24					

Table showing the 'generality' scores for each of the thirty five subjects in the school population.

maximum scores possible for each category is given at the foot of each column.

Black Pers.	Eng. Pers.	Nurse	Police man	Model	Hippy	B'Man	Total
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29
0	0	9	5	1	3	4	22
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29
1	2	9	5	0	4	4	25
1	2	9	6	2	4	4	27
1	2	7	5	2	4	4	25
2	2	9	6	2	3	4	28
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29
2	2	9	6	2	3	4	28
2	2	9	3	2	4	4	26
2	2	9	6	1	3	4	27
2	2	9	4	1	3	4	25
1	0	9	4	1	4	3	22
1	1	9	6	2	2	2	23
1	2	7	5	1	4	4	24
1	2	9	6	2	4	4	28
1	2	9	5	2	4	3	26
1	2	9	5	2	4	4	27
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29
1	2	8	6	2	2	4	25
2	2	8	6	1	4	4	27
1	1	9	6	1	2	3	23
0	1	9	6	2	2	3	23
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29
0	2	9	5	0	4	4	24
2	0	8	5	2	4	4	25
2	2	9	5	2	4	4	28
2	2	7	4	1	4	4	24
1	0	8	6	2	4	3	24
2	1	9	4	1	1	4	22
2	2	8	2	2	3	3	22
0	2	9	5	1	4	4	25
2	2	8	1	2	4	4	23
0	2	3	3	1	3	2	14
2	2	9	6	2	4	4	29

TABLE SIX (b)

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Table showing the 'generality' scores for each of the thirty five subjects in the technical college population.

(maximum scores possible, are given at the foot of each column)

Black Pers.	Eng. Pers	Nurse	Police man	Model	Hippy	B*man	Total
2	3	7	2	1	4	6	25
0	2	7	2	1	3	5	20
3	3	8	2	1	4	7	28
2	33	8	2	1	4	7	27
1	1	8	2	1	4	7	24
3	1	7	2	0	3	4	20
2	3	8	2	1	3	5	22
3	3	3	2	1	3	7	22
2	2	8	2	1	2	4	21
1	3	8	2	1	0	5	20
3	3	8	2	1	3	7	27
1	2	7	1	0	3	7	21
3	2	7	3	1	4	7	27
1	3	8	2	0	3	5	22
2	3	7	3	1	2	7	25
2	2	8	22	1	3	5	23
3	3	7	2	1	4	7	27
3	3	8	3	1	4	7	28
3	3	8	3	1	3	6	27
1	2	7	2	1	4	3	20
3	3	7	3	1	4	7	28
2	2	7	2	1	3	6	23
2	3	8	3	1	2	7	26
2	2	7	3	0	3	7	24
3	2	5	3	0	2	7	22
3	3	8	3	0	3	5	25
0	2	8	1	1	3	5	20
3	2	7	3	1	4	6	26
3	3	8	3	1	4	7	29
1	2	8	3	1	4	6	25
2	2	8	3	1	4	6	26
3	1	6	2	0	4	2	18
2	3	5	2	1	2	7	22
3	3	8	2	1	2	7	26
3	3	8	2	1	4	7	28
3	3	8	3	1	4	7	28

Table showing the 'generality' scores for each of the twenty four subjects in the student population.

(maximum possible scores for each category are given at the foot of each column)

Black Pers	Eng. Pers	Nurse	Police man	Model man	Hippy	B'man	Total
3	2	7	3	4	6	9	34
3	2	6	8	3	6	10	38
1	0	9	3	3	5	7	28
2	1	9	6	4	6	11	39
1	1	9	6	3	4	10	34
3	2	7	8	4	6	9	39
2	0	9	6	3	5	7	32
3	1	6	0	2	3	10	25
0	2	6	4	3	5	10	30
1	2	8	8	2	6	8	35
2	1	8	7	4	4	11	37
0	2	7	7	2	6	10	34
3	2	8	4	3	4	11	35
2	1	8	7	3	6	7	34
1	2	9	8	4	6	8	38
2	1	9	7	4	4	11	38
0	0	6	5	3	6	7	27
1	2	6	8	3	6	6	32
3	2	6	6	4	4	9	34
1	1	7	6	2	5	10	32
3	2	7	8	3	6	10	39
3	2	8	8	1	5	10	37
1	2	8	5	3	4	11	34
2	0	5	6	2	6	7	28
3	2	10	9	4	6	11	45

Discussion of Results

The main hypothesis tested in this experiment could not be upheld, in that no significant differences in ratings was found to exist between the three populations for the racial stimuli categories of black person and white person, on any of the sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales. (There was also no significant differences between the three populations of any of the other scales for the remaining five categories, that were analysed.) This is perhaps a surprising result in view of the data presented in experiments two, three and four - when all judgements made by the student subjects seem to have been characterised by caution. However, although there is no significant difference between the ratings of the three populations of subjects for each of the bi-polar adjectival scales, there is some difference in the adjectives that can be judged as being stereotypical that the three populations have produced.

Those adjectives provided by the student population (with the exception of the adjective 'colourful') are different from those provided by the school and technical college populations. Whereas students add the adjectives 'pleasant' and 'sensitive' to their description of the black person, the school population adds 'religious', and the technical college 'religious' and 'happy'. When the stereotypical adjectives are looked at in their appropriate groups, it becomes evident that the adjectives that are provided by

a 'non-student' population bear a much closer resemblance to those produced by Katz and Braly as being stereotypical for a Negro, than the adjectives that the student population produced. The group of adjectives that the student group has agreed upon as being applicable to the black person, in fact are 'neutral' enough to be applicable to many other racial and non-racial groups. Such ambiguity is lacking in the responses of the other two populations. It might be postulated that 'non-student' populations are less inhibited in their allocation of adjectives to a black racial group, than are the students. However, no information has been gathered in this experiment as to the connotative meanings attached to the adjectives by any of the three populations, and thus no judgements can be made as to whether these adjectives have in any way got perjorative or non-perjorative connotations.

The 'White Person' stimulus figure would not be expected to produce highly divergent judgements between the three populations, in that this is an in-group judgemental setting. Mean ratings for the sixteen bi-polar adjectival scales differ only to the extent of 0.5 of a scale position to 1 scale position between the three populations. The exception to this is the scale 'Talkative/Taciturn', where the spread covers almost two complete scale units. Again (as with the black person stimulus), one adjective overlaps the three categories, and this is the adjective 'Clean', in

that it is regarded as being stereotypical by students, the technical college population and by the school population. This adjective is possibly a remnant of the concept of the Protestant ethic; the paucity of adjectives is possibly due to the fact that because the stimulus is of the subjects' own membership group, he has too many 'models' available to him for basing judgements upon, to reasonably expect consensuality of adjective allocation to occur.

Thus it can be seen that the adjectives produced as stereotypical for the racial figures are in line with stereotypical adjectives produced in the previous experiments, with the school and technical college populations producing those that are in most accord with the stereotype content produced by other investigators. (One incongruity of the results might be the inclusion of the adjective 'Talkative' for the white person stimulus, whilst the student population included 'Reserved'; this is explicable when the bi-polar opposites are viewed - taciturn and outgoing being the relevant opposites. This gives an example of the defining qualities of bi-polar opposites.)

It is interesting to note that functionally, these adjectives are different from those produced as being stereotypical in the first Osgood-type experiment. This might be accounted for by the fact that slightly different bi-polar adjectival scales were used in this experiment. A more

detailed discussion of this important point will be found in the general discussion chapter, where results obtained through the use of different methodologies will be discussed and their differences analysed.

As with the previous experiments, the occupational and dress/occupational categories, produced the greatest number of adjectives that could be regarded as being consensual. They also produced adjectives (from the three populations) that bear some resemblance to adjectives produced for the relevant categories when other methodologies were used. This was greatest for the stimulus category of 'nurse' across the three populations, eight adjectives overlap (intelligent, pleasant, reliable, efficient, helpful, hard working, kind and dedicated); with the school population adding 'precise' and the student population including 'adventurous'. Some of the adjectives are found in other experimental results, if not in actual word, then in meaning or tone (see next chapter for detailed comparison). It is apparent that of all the potential stereotypical categories, the 'nurse' figure has received the greatest concordance of agreement, and has had the most positive adjectives applied to it. The use of this very high agreement might lie in the importance of the role of the nurse in society and the amount of information that the individual receives about this category.

Whereas there was a very close relationship between the adjectives produced for the categories of 'nurse' and 'policeman' in the first 'Osgood-type' experiment, there is a much sharper differentiation here. No one adjective overlaps the three populations, but 'strong' and 'rugged' overlap the school and technical college populations, whilst 'precise' overlaps the technical college and student population, and 'helpful' overlaps the school and student populations. Here again there is an indication that school and technical college are more in accord in their allocations of ratings, than any other combination of the three populations.

The concept of 'Model' produced little agreement between groups, apart from the adjective 'colourful' (which overlaps the three populations) and the adjective 'delicate' (upon which the school and student subjects agree). Students add the term 'sophisticated' but otherwise consensus as to what adjectives are applicable to this category is lacking. Why this should be so is not clear - although 'direct' contact might be negligible, there is much 'media-processed' information about this category.

High consensus was obtained for the categories of 'Hippy' and 'Businessman', and they are highly differentiated. In many ways the stereotypes of these two figures are the direct antithesis of each other, with several cases

existing where one end of the bi-polar scale is applied to one category, and the other end of the scale being applied to the other category. As can be seen from the table of stereotypical adjectives one third of the scales are distributed in this way. The student population produced the most prolific list of adjectives for the businessman agreeing with the other two populations that he would be 'intelligent', 'smart' and 'clean' and 'rich'. For the hippy the three groups of subjects are in agreement as to the applicability of 'shabby' and 'dirty' with the school and technical college populations adding 'lazy'.

Thus it can be seen that stereotypical adjectives appeared for all of the stimulus categories for the three populations, but that those for the latter five groupings bear closer resemblance to what might constitute 'traditional' stereotypes than those for the 'racial' categories.

It is these stereotypical adjectives that provide the basis for the stereotype endorsement scores which are correlated to test for 'generality' of stereotypy across categories, and within categories. As with the first Osgood-type experiment, the pattern of generality for the three populations is not consistent across them, and is not clear within each population. Five significant correlations occur for both the school and the technical college populations with only two appearing for the students' inter-

correlational matrix. All the significant correlations for the three populations involve one or more of the occupational or dress/occupational categories, which is not surprising as these were the categories that, for all three populations, provided the highest consensus of applicable adjectives, thus increasing the likelihood of significant relationships between the categories occurring. For each population, there is no category which has achieved significant correlations for each of the stimulus figures within the category, which means that the concept of generality within category, cannot be wholly accepted. The highest significant correlation occurs for the comparison of English Person and Businessman for the school population. This might indicate that these subjects see the 'typical' Englishman as also being involved in business. The inter-correlational matrices for the three populations indicate precisely which are the significant relationships. The school and technical college populations both achieved significant correlations for the comparisons of black person/businessman, and black person/model, but these are the only cases where significance of the same relationships is found in more than one population.

As with the previous experiments that have attempted to provide validation for this hypothesis, there is some positive evidence so the hypothesis cannot be completely rejected, but on the other hand the generality, relation-

ships are not constant over populations or experiments. A detailed discussion of how the generality relationships alter will be undertaken in the next chapter.

Conclusions

The main hypothesis of this experiment was not upheld in that there was no significant difference between the way the students rated the stimulus categories and the way the other two populations rated them. However, there does seem to be a distinction between the types of adjectives that the three populations produced as being stereotypical, with the school and technical college subjects producing adjectives that seemed to be more akin to those which might be regarded as being 'traditional', which suggests that students are, to some extent, being cautious in their judgements, especially when presented with 'racial' stimulus figures (more particularly a 'black' stimulus figure). The difficulties that arise in trying to ascertain the stereotype of an English person seem to arise from the fact that it is English people who are acting as subjects and therefore the effects of in-group judgements become apparent.

Experiment Six

One of the puzzling aspects of the results obtained here is the fact that adjectives which have emerged as stereotypical, bear little resemblance to those denigrating adjectives traditionally shown to exist as stereotypes by other writers. The type of adjectives in the results obtained here (especially for the racial categories) are, however, in keeping with the quality of adjectives endorsed in some other recent work on stereotyping (Maykovich 1972 Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor 1968), but apart from this neutrality, there are very few points in common.

When subjects had taken part in these previous experiments, they had been led to believe that they were taking part in a person perception task (except in experiments 3 and 4 (second parts) where subjects were asked to say what other people would think). However, after the experiments were completed they (i.e. subjects) were told the real purpose behind them. All subjects said that they had no difficulty in dealing with the concept of the stereotype; all having an 'intuitive' if not a precise understanding of the term. Some subjects said that they knew what the stereotypes were, but they had not responded to the task in terms of this knowledge, (some asked whether they should have done so).

Such information, gleaned from subjects' comments on the previous experiments, coupled with the nature of the results obtained, prompted another experiment to be run, designed to test the following hypotheses:

Hypotheses

- a. That although a population might not use 'traditional' stereotypes in their responses to disguised stereotype elicitation procedures, they nevertheless know what are the stereotypes of their culture with regard to race and occupation, and, if asked directly, they will respond in these terms.
- b. That the 'traditional' stereotypes that a student population might give to 'direct' stereotype elicitation, will not differ fundamentally from those provided by any other population.

This particular experiment was run, partly, as a subsidiary to the experiment designed to test for any differences in responses between populations to a semantic differential format (Experiment Five).

Choice of Subjects: The subjects used in this experiment can be regarded as coming from four different populations. Altogether 122 subjects were used. Twenty subjects came from adult education classes, all of whom had little or no

training in psychology, and who had not participated in any of the previous experiments. Thirty-two first year psychology students formed the university population; they were at the beginning of their course. These subjects had also not taken part in any of the previous experiments. Thirty-five subjects from a school population and thirty-five subjects from a technical college population. These last two groups of subjects had taken part in the previous experiment, but at that time had no knowledge of the purpose behind it.

The age range of the adult education group was 18 to 67 years, whilst the students covered the range 18 to 20 years. The school and technical college populations covered the age range of 14 to 23 years.

Choice of Technique: Subjects were to be asked directly what the content of certain stereotypes were. A simple answer booklet was made up, giving the stimulus category label at the head of the page, followed by five spaces where subjects could write their responses. Because this experiment was intended to provide some kind of comparison between 'directly' elicited adjectives and those emerging from disguised elicitation procedures, the stimulus categories that were chosen were almost identical to those used in earlier experiments (particularly Experiment Five). Seven categories were chosen.

Racial Categories		
Black Person		White Person
Occupational Categories		
Nurse	MODEL	Policeman
Dress/Occupational Categories		
Hippy		Businessman

The last two categories overlap the dress style and occupational categories and as such are classified as a combination.

Before the subjects were given the instructions and answer booklets they were asked the question: "Do you know what a stereotype is?" In the case of the adult education class and the student populations the answer, without exception, was 'Yes'. In the case of the school and technical college populations there was a mixture of responses, so before the experiment proceeded the concept of the stereotype was explained in terms of the Lippman definition of them as 'pictures in our heads'. When it seemed that they thoroughly understood the concept they were given the

instructions to read. Any problems or queries were answered. These were the instructions given to the subjects:

"On the following pages, you will find various headings (one to each page) indicating various kinds of people. Beneath each heading I want you to write down five adjectives that you think occur in the stereotype of that particular group. I do not want your own personal view of the group. This is purely to find out what each group's stereotypes in society are. Put down five adjectives for each heading and do not omit any of the categories. If you think a phrase describes what you want to say - then write down the phrase."

Hayakawa, when he speaks of culture and stereotypes, maintains that knowledge of the 'traditional' stereotype is a necessary pre-requisite for the membership of a particular culture. Without this type of 'conceptual framework', misunderstanding and misidentification is likely and possible. If this is true, (and it would seem to be true, both intuitively and on an ad hoc basis) then 'stereotypical' adjectives produced by subjects should be recognisable as being descriptive of a particular category, when the analysed adjectives are read back to subjects. Thus after the initially produced adjectives had been sorted for consensus, subjects were asked at a later date what category each group of adjectives applied to.

Analysis of Results

The adjectives that were produced by the four groups of subjects were counted and sorted according to the frequency of production (cf Katz and Braly analysis). Each group of subjects' responses was kept separate. The first five most frequently produced adjectives for each group were taken as being the substance of the stereotype for that particular stimulus category. For each of the four populations, clear distinctions were made between each stimulus category. For the most part five adjectives, but in some cases where 'tied' frequencies were involved, six, or in one case seven, adjectives were regarded as being stereotypical. The adjectives produced by the four populations for the seven categories can be found in the table one overleaf.

Discussion of Results

Although the emphasis of the stereotypical adjectives differed from population to population, the content of the stereotypes across populations was very similar. The adjectives produced for the nurse were perhaps the most easily relatable across the four populations. Efficient, Kind, Hard Working and Dedicated appeared in three of the four groups; and the percentage of endorsement was much higher than for other stimulus categories - (the lowest percentage was 25 per cent and the highest 85.7 per cent) - no other adjective for any other category achieved this high degree of consensus.

Table showing the most commonly attributed characteristics to the seven categories, by each of the four populations.

	Adult Sample	Student Sample	School Sample	Tech. Col. Sample
Nurse	Kind 60.0%	Efficient 62.5%	Helpful 85.7%	Helpful 71.4%
	Efficient 40.0%	Kind 37.5%	H. Working 74.3%	H. Working 51.4%
	Dedicated 25.0%	Dedicated 31.2%	Efficient 71.4%	Loyal 42.9%
	Hard working 25.0%	Neat 28.1%	Intelligent 51.4%	Dedicated 37.1%
	Patient 25.0%	Sympathetic 21.8%	Kind 45.7%	Happy 34.3%
Model		Sophisticated 28.1%	Beautiful 34.3%	Beautiful 37.1%
		Attractive 25.0%	Sophisticated 40.0%	Rich (+ AFFLUENT) 37.1%
		Tall 25.0%	Good Figure 31.5%	Smart 28.6%
		Elegant 21.8%	Happy 28.6%	Clean 25.7%
		Glamorous 21.8%	Intelligent 28.6%	H. Working 22.9%
Hippy	Long Haired 30.0%	Dirty 56.2%	Dirty 77.1%	Dirty 68.6%
	Dirty 25.0%	Long Haired 46.9%	Lazy 62.9%	Lazy 62.9%
	Lazy 20.0%	Drug Taking 37.5%	Unintelligent 54.3%	Happy 48.6%
	Unconventional 20.0%	Lazy 37.5%	Shabby (+ UNNAT.) 51.5%	Poor 31.4%
	Untidy (+ SCRUFFY) 30.0%	Untidy (+ SCRUFFY) 37.5%	Drug Taking 31.4%	Drug Taking 20.0%
Businessman	Conventional 25.0%	Smart 42.0%	Intelligent (+ CLEVER) 69.5%	Intelligent (+ CLEVER) 77.1%
	Astute 20.0%	Fat 31.5%	H. Working 34.3%	Rich 54.2%
	Orderly 15.0%	Conventional 28.0%	Efficient 31.4%	Well Dressed 28.6%
	Shrewd 15.0%	Well Dressed 19.5%	Clean 31.4%	Mercenary (+ MEAN) 25.7%
	Smart 15.0%	Wealthy 35.1%	Rich 28.6%	H. Working 25.7%
Policeman	Helpful 45.0%	Helpful 56.2%	Helpful 63.9%	Helpful 51.4%
	Strong 35.0%	Tall 21.2%	Intelligent 51.4%	Intelligent 31.5%
	Tall 20.0%	Authoritative 18.7%	Strong 40.0%	Alert 34.3%
	Authoritative 15.0%	Law abiding 18.7%	H. Working 34.3%	Strict 25.8%
	Dependable 15.0%	Reliable 18.7%	Efficient 31.4%	Dedicated 22.9%
Black Person	Musical 35.0%	Musical 25.6%	Colourful 42.9%	Musical 51.4%
	Colourful 25.0%	Stupid 25.6%	Cheerful (+ HAPPY) 48.6%	Happy 45.8%
	Lazy 20.0%	Cheerful (+ HAPPY) 18.7%	Musical 34.4%	H. Working 40.0%
	Happy 15.0%	Lazy 18.7%	Religious 31.4%	Colourful 31.4%
	Slow 15.0%	Dirty 21.8%	Intelligent 31.4%	Clean 22.9%
English Person	Strong 15.0%			Religious 22.9%
		Stiff Upper Lip 31.2%	Intelligent 31.4%	Intelligent (+ CLEVER) 22.9%
		Reserved 28.1%	Clean 20.0%	Proud 34.3%
		Cold (+ COOL) 28.1%	'Posh' 17.1%	Clean 28.6%
		Conventional 15.6%	Untalkative 17.1%	H. Working 28.6%
		Honest 12.5%	H. Working 17.1%	Happy 20.0%
		Moral 12.5%		

The stereotype of the hippy was also clear, but without such high degree of endorsement. Here the adjectives 'Dirty' and 'Lazy' occur over the four populations; 'drug-taking' was mentioned by the three younger groups, but not (perhaps surprisingly) by the adult education population.

The stereotypes for the other five categories are all very similar across populations, if not in actual content then in emotional tone and meaning. For the most part the percentage endorsement for the adjectives is high enough to warrant the assumption that these adjectival items are indeed the most commonly associated with these categories.

The consistency of the adjectives produced by the total number of subjects for each stimulus category, would seem to indicate that these in fact are the 'traditional' or 'social' stereotypes of these particular groups.

When these adjectives were read back to the subjects concerned there was 100 per cent correct identification of which group of stereotypical adjectives applied to which stimulus group. This finding held true, whether the adjectives that were read back to the populations were of their own production or whether they were adjectives that had been produced by another population. This 100 per cent recognition level would also seem to substantiate the claim that these adjectives are in fact the adjectives that appear in

the 'cultural' stereotypes of these groups - irrespective of whether or not they are actually used in everyday behaviour.

The results give rise to the postulate that traditional stereotypes can and do exist independantly of the overt judgement that subjects give in disguised stereotype elicitation procedures. Perhaps it is reasonable to suggest that knowledge of traditional stereotypes is common to all members of a culture, but that such knowledge lies latent or unused until the situation arises where such knowledge becomes necessary to substantiate an attitude or some other premise - and that this knowledge cannot be satisfactorily tapped by the methods that have been used previously.

Amongst the subjects present when the stereotypical adjectives were read back to subjects for recognition, were two foreign subjects (N.B. their original choice of adjectives were not included as part of the experiment because native British speakers were used throughout the experiments). However, the two foreign subjects were asked to identify the stereotypes read back to the subjects, and it is interesting to note that both of them achieved only a 20 per cent correct identification level. This might suggest, although the information is obviously too scant to permit a firm conclusion, that the Hayakawa premise is accurate in its predictions.

In the previous chapter the experiments have been discussed as individual entities with only a loose comparison being made between data obtained by the various experiments as to technique, data, and stimuli. One of the most interesting facets of the experimental work is the fact that for all the different categories and particular

Chapter Three

adjectives that were produced by the various subjects to the stimulus and more numerous different stimuli. This is possibly due to the fact that the subjects used a slightly different design than that used in the previous studies. It is also possible that methodology will have a direct effect on the 'calibre' of the stereotypical adjectives produced. Thus, this chapter will attempt to present a comparative evaluation of the experimental designs that were used, and the type of data that was produced through their use.

The first five experiments followed two basic methodologies (albeit modified for the relevant purposes of the particular experimental design) which are called the 'Semantic Differential' format (Experiments Two and Five) and the 'Adjective production and check-list' format. In one form or another, these have been the traditional type-elicitation procedures since the 1930s. The experimental work reported here has used these procedures in a great variety of ways, so that although they are well established as fitting under one or other of the two methodological formats, each experiment does have its own unique characteristics.

In the previous chapter the experiments have been discussed as individual entities with only a token comparison being made between data obtained in the various experiments as to technique, data, and stimuli. One of the most interesting facets of the experimental work is the fact that for all the stimulus categories (and particularly the 'racial' categories) the 'type' of stereotypical adjectives that were produced by the various sets of subjects differed somewhat from one experiment to another. This is possibly due to the fact that for each experiment a slightly different design was used; it seems a reasonable postulate that methodology will have a definite effect on the 'calibre' of the stereotypical adjectives produced. Thus, this chapter will attempt to present a comparative evaluation of the experimental designs that were used, and the type of data that was produced through their use.

The first five experiments followed two broad methodologies (albeit modified for the relevant aims of the particular experimental design) which can be called the 'Semantic Differential' format (Experiments Two and Five), and the 'Adjective production and check-list' format. In one form or another, these have been the traditional stereotype elicitation procedures since the 1930s. The experimental work reported here has used these techniques in a great variety of ways, so that although they can be described as fitting under one or other of the two broad methodological formats, each experiment does have an element of uniqueness.

Adjective Production and 'Check-list Format'

Experiments One, Three and Four can be classed as being variations on the original Katz and Braly adjective check-list procedure. Although the straightforward adjective check-list methodology is in many ways a very useful and relevant procedure, it does have several drawbacks which necessitate caution in its use (however, in some cases the drawbacks of this method are common to many stereotype elicitation procedures). One of the most salient factors in the present use of the technique is that the choice of adjectives for the test suggests an inclusiveness and finality that cannot but help affect judgements made upon them. For this reason, when a very close approximation to the original Katz and Braly technique was used (as in Experiment One) great care has to be taken in how results are interpreted. One of the drawbacks for experiment One was the time needed by subjects to complete their task; to be able to present the subject with a reasonable choice of adjectives within which to make his judgements, the number presented in the straightforward Katz and Braly test must be very large. This large number of adjectives increases the likelihood of both denotative and connotative overlap between adjectives; (and even with very careful screening this is very difficult to overcome) it results in redundant information and takes up the subjects' time unnecessarily. Constant re-reading these adjective lists is also likely to cause the subject to become very frustrated and maybe

careless in his approach to the task.

A straightforward Katz and Braly method, when applied to British student subjects did not seem to be the most effective or fruitful method of tapping stereotypes; although other investigators (Diab 1962, Maykovich 1972, Gilbert 1951 etc.) have used this technique on student populations and have managed to elicit recognisable stereotypes concerning racial or ethnic groups - albeit stereotypes of a less emotive character than those reported by Katz and Braly - but it should be noted that these sets of results have been validated on populations other than a British one.

It is an unfortunate facet of traditional stereotype measurement that, for the most part, subjects have to make judgements on the adjectives listed, when in fact those adjectives might not reflect what subjects feel is applicable to a particular group of individuals. Thus Experiments Three and Four were designed to allow subjects themselves to produce adjectives without constraints set upon them, and then to have these 'freely produced adjectives' checked by a comparable population for their views on possible frequency of occurrence within a general population. Functionally this is again a variant on the original Katz and Braly technique. It had the advantage of not circumscribing the subjects' responses, but produced quite severe quantifying difficulties. This particular variant is also procedurally useful, in that subjects need only give a minimum number of adjectives in response,

therefore the effects of the variables of fatigue and boredom are negligible.

The fact that many variants or modifications can be made to it, is one of the advantages of the 'adjective check-list' methodology - these variants can be related to the selection of alternatives, the nature and number of the alternatives, and the type of stimuli that are presented to the subjects. For all these experiments involving the adjective production and adjective check-list, the subject is not asked to specify any particular number of adjectives, just those that he considers to be appropriate. This is advantageous, in that stereotypes are often rather meagre as far as content is concerned, and are very 'unsophisticated' from a psychological point of view. Duijker and Frijda (1960) maintain that "stereotypes are the outward signs of conformity to the opinions one's own group holds about the category in question", and therefore need not be exhaustive and in some cases might only consist of one word. When subjects themselves produced the adjectives in questions some restriction of alternatives occurred (i.e. they were given a maximum limit) simply because otherwise quantification would be impossible. This objection is not unique to the Katz and Braly work.

It is possible that the data obtained from such a method presents artefacts rather than reliable data - with "words being put into the subjects' mouths" (Duijker and Frijda) and this could be a hindrance whenever verbally

formulated alternatives are presented to the subjects. However, if percentage agreement on the applicability of an adjective is very high, then the possibility of it being a purely artefactual judgement is considerably lessened.

The 'adjective production and check-list' methodology thus has certain advantages in that it is a standardised technique which allows great leeway as to presentation, but it has many disadvantages - the majority of which are held in common with other stereotype elicitation procedures. However, with the formats that have been used here, the fact that it is a tedious, uneconomical method is its main disadvantage. When the variant of subjects producing their own alternatives is used, some of these disadvantages are eliminated, but another difficulty arises (which is perhaps more insidious) in that coding, and quantifying these 'freely produced adjectives' immediately presents difficult problems.

The Katz and Braly technique is both widespread and useful, however the traditional mode of analysis of data obtained in this way is not of the most stringent. Quite often the only information that is given is the percentage of respondents indicating a specific adjective and Katz and Braly accept extremely low percentage agreement as being indicative of a stereotypical adjective. This is surely not a precise enough criteria, for stereotypes are by definition 'consensual' judgements. (See later, page 281 for a detailed account of the role of consensus in stereotypy research.)

The 'Semantic Differential' Format

This technique has to some extent replaced the Katz and Braly technique as a commonly-used methodology and has produced some encouraging results outside Britain.

(Gardner, Wonnacott and Taylor 1968, Secord Bevan and Dukes 1964, Gundlach 1944 etc.). Originally propounded by Osgood in 1952, this technique has been used in many different ways, often with such severe modification that it is a long way from its original format. Experiments Two and Five used this technique with an identical presentation but slightly different bi-polar adjectival scales. To some extent this type of format can be regarded as a simple 7-point scale with dichotomous adjectives at either end of the continuum, in that the various dimensional properties that the scale possesses (i.e. evaluative, activity and potency) are disregarded for the purposes of the analysis.

One of the main assumptions underlying the test concerns bi-polarity, i.e. the assumption is that thinking in terms of opposites is natural to the human species - data presently being collected by anthropologists indicates that the likelihood of this is great, but the thesis is by no means completely justifiable as yet. From the point of view of stereotype elicitation this bi-polarity helps considerably in reducing the amount of overlap in adjective presentation - allowing the subject to make choice judgments. One of the disadvantages relevant to stereotype elicitation procedures generally and one of the main

methodological problems to be overcome in the semantic differential format in particular, is the question of whether the polar adjectival terms that are used are true psychological opposites, i.e. fall at "equal distances from the origin of the semantic space, and in opposite directions along a single straight line passing through the origin" (Osgood et al 1952). This could be extremely debatable, especially when connotative aspects of adjectives may make them nonopposites even though denotatively this is not so. However, this is an assumption that has to be made if the technique is to be used - the facility which is provided by the semantic differential, warrants the acceptance of this assumption.

Another assumption underlying the format which could have relevance here, is that Osgood seems to have found fairly satisfying evidence that the 7-step scales that are presented, defined by the linguistic quantifiers 'extremely', 'quite' and 'slightly' in both directions from a neutral 'meaningless' point of origin, do yield nearly equal psychological units in the process of judgement. However, there seems to be a need to accumulate additional information on this point.

The whole semantic differential system centres around the premise that all nouns (including 'category' nouns) have two aspects - the denotative and connotative, however, as Osgood points out, simple agreement on the referents of signs, does not give any indication of the 'representational

states' associated with these signs, but "rather that these states have entered into the same sets of relationships between situations and verbal responses". (Osgood et al 1957.)

The problem of connotative meaning is central to stereotypy research, and one which at the present time seems insoluble. Osgood maintained that his semantic differential scale made the first overtures towards ascertaining certain aspects of connotative meaning. However, the philosophical question of 'what is the meaning of meaning?' is very relevant. For stereotype research 'meaning' must refer to the frame of reference employed by the subject when^N presented with a category label and adjectival descriptions. It will be particularly difficult to ascertain certain aspects of stereotypes because the fact that stereotypes are to a large extent determined by context and situation, must be borne in mind when the data furnished through experiment is interpreted. It also must not be forgotten that the specific situation in which the stereotype is expressed determines to a large extent which aspects of a stereotype are used - for instance the circumstances where a Negro might be described as 'colourful' or 'musical' might well be completely different from the circumstances where he will be described as 'lazy', or the circumstances where the Negro is described as 'lazy' by two different people may be completely different. It cannot be ascertained through any of the existing stereotype

elicitation procedures what 'expectancies' a subject is using, what his particular experiences have been with the category group in question, or what 'emotional' state he is bringing to the task. This criticism is certainly not unique to the semantic differential format - but one which is common to all procedures.

The semantic differential format when used in stereotype elicitation is vulnerable to artefacts produced by the 'containing' adjectives presented within a set of scales; (this is particularly well shown by a comparison of the stereotypical data produced through experiments Two and Five). Great care should be taken, particularly with this type of format, because subjects are not given the option of adding adjectives that they feel are relevant to the concept or category that is being described.

The choice of adjectives presented to the subject will, to a very large extent, determine what type of stereotypical content will be produced; and here it should be considered what the aims of a particular piece of research are. If the aim of a design is to ascertain simply the content of a stereotype, then it is necessary and important that adjectives that are presented to subjects should have been produced by a similar or identical population, and it is in this area that the Katz and Braly format can be most useful. The Semantic differential format really comes into its own, if individual differences in stereotype endorsement are to be analysed, yet even here the adjectives

presented should have been obtained from a similar population.

Both the basic strategies discussed here have very obvious advantages and disadvantages, the latter for the most part being held in common with other elicitation procedures. However, they are both useful quantitative methods, with the semantic differential being a most economical methodology and the adjective production technique allowing greater freedom for the subject. To say which of the techniques is more valid or potentially useful is extremely difficult, for when the relative advantages and disadvantages are evaluated, the two techniques do present a 'swings and roundabouts' syndrome.

It has become evident through the data obtained in Experiment Six (and the indications mentioned in the discussion of Experiment Four) that knowledge of 'traditional' or 'social' stereotypes does exist for most individuals; and the question arises as to why such stereotyping is not evinced in any of the 'methodologically more sophisticated' experiments that have been run. Part of the answer may lie in the fact that stereotype elicitation procedures (as with all person perception studies) are essentially artificial, and it is quite likely that the subjects are in fact trying to make sense of what is essentially a sense-less task, thus making the 'spur of the moment' judgements that are in fact irrelevant. The ideal way to tap the content of various inter-national, and

intra-national stereotypes, would be mass observation in a natural setting. "This would provide qualatative data which might possibly be useful in two respects:

- i. with regards to the construction of hypotheses for more sophisticated research
- ii. as a 'corrective' addition to the abstract conceptualisations resulting from purely quantative methods" (Duijker and Frijda 1960)

Asking outright for stereotypes as in Experiment Six, is methodologically unsophisticated, but sometimes methodological sophistication is restricting. It does prevent subjects from attempting to read individual characteristics into stimuli, and it also has an advantage (particularly in the consideration of 'inter national' or racial stereotypes) in that it implies no commitment to the stereotype by the individual who confesses to the knowledge of it, and therefore one could obtain both 'emotive' and 'non emotive' aspects of the stereotype, if they exist; (and it would appear from the data presented in Experiment Six, that this is so).

The adjectives that had been used in Experiments One to Five were taken from what overseas investigators had found to be stereotypical. However, in the light of data produced by British subjects in these experiments, it would appear that maybe these adjectives are not central to the British stereotypes of the various categories. A straightforward demand technique might produce adjectives which are

central to the British stereotypes and therefore it is these which could then be used in any more sophisticated technique.

Retrospectively, it would appear that it could have been more useful, in this set of experiments, to have put forward a straightforward demand for stereotype content before using more elaborate elicitation procedures. However all the literature pertaining to the topic indicated that 'traditional' elicitation procedures (using also to a large extent 'standardised' adjectives) were successful for, and practical in, the elicitation of inter-national stereotypes; (and in order to study whether some individuals 'stereotype' groups more than others, it is essential of course to use a technique which implies commitment to the stereotype). The set of experimental work reported here would suggest that traditional procedures are more successful for eliciting 'INTRA-national' stereotypes than for 'INTER national' stereotypes. (The reason why this should be so will be discussed when a comparison of data obtained from the various experimental settings is undertaken in the next section.)

Comparison of Data across experiments

One of the most important aspects of this review of experiments is the different 'types' of adjectives that have been produced by the different experimental situations. Seven of the range of stimulus categories appear in all

Experiments Two to Six, and because these are the only common categories, these are the only ones to be discussed here. They cover the three overall sections of 'racial' stimuli (black person, incorporating male and female categories); (white person, including male and female); occupational stimuli (nurse, policeman, and model); and dress/occupational stimuli (hippy including 'casual male' which is equatable because of dress style; and businessman including 'formal male' again equatable because of dress style). The tables presented below show the adjectives relevant for each category across the five experiments, and the various populations withⁿ the experiments (altogether there are ten potential adjectival sets for comparison).

It is evident from these tables that, the 'racial' stimuli of black person and white person, are those which have the least concordance of agreement across experiments, with the occupational stimulus of 'model' also having low agreement. This sub-table presents how many adjectives overlap the ten potential data 'sets' for the racial categories (where more than a quarter of the data sets are involved), from Experiment Six (recognition of 'Traditional' stereotypes) and Experiments Two to Five (individual opinion).

EXPERIMENT TWO	EXPERIMENT THREE	EXPERIMENT FOUR	EXPERIMENT FIVE				EXPERIMENT SIX			
			SCHOOL POPULATION	TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION	STUDENT POPULATION	ADULT EDUCATION POPULATION	STUDENT POPULATION	SCHOOL POPULATION	TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION	
RUGGED HAUGHTY TENACIOUS DELICATE STUPID SENSITIVE NAIVE SOCIAL NATURAL	TRENDY LIVELY TOUGH	STRONG	COLOURFUL RELIGIOUS	COLOURFUL RELIGIOUS HAPPY	COLOURFUL PLEASANT SENSITIVE	MUSICAL COLOURFUL LAZY HAPPY SLOW STRONG	MUSICAL CHEERFUL LAZY STUPID DIRTY	MUSICAL COLOURFUL CHEERFUL RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENT	MUSICAL COLOURFUL HAPPY RELIGIOUS CLEAN HARD-WORKING	
BLACK PERSON										
RESERVED HAUGHTY TALKATIVE	AVERAGE CONFIDENT ROUTINIZED HOMELY MIDDLE-AGED CONVENTIONAL ORDINARY PEACEFUL	ORDINARY SOLITARY QUIET	CLEAN TALKATIVE	CLEAN PROUD SENSITIVE	RESERVED CLEAN	↔	STIFF UPPER LIP RESERVED COLD CONVENTIONAL HONEST MORAL	INTELLIGENT CLEAN 'POSH' UNTALKATIVE HARD-WORKING	INTELLIGENT CLEAN PROUD HAPPY HARD-WORKING	
WHITE PERSON										

Table to show the stereotypical adjectives produced by subjects in experiments two, three, four, five and six for the RACIAL categories.

TABLE ONE

Sub Table A

Black person			White person		
Exp 6	Exps 2-5		Exp 6	Exps 2-5	
Colourful	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{2}{6}$	Clean	$\frac{5}{9}$ $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{3}{6}$
Musical	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	$\frac{0}{6}$		
Religious	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{2}{6}$		
Rugged Tough Strong	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{0}{4}$	$\frac{4}{6}$		

The very high percentage of agreement on the applicability of these adjectives in Experiment Six, and the 100 per cent recognition level achieved by the subjects in allocating the adjectives to the various categories would suggest that they are true stereotypes. It becomes evident that for Experiments Two, Three and Four, the consensual adjectives bear little relation to the 'traditional' stereotype for the black person. It is possible that the results for these experiments reflect the fact that students (for such was the subject population for these three experiments), are more critically aware of the social and intellectual unacceptability of expressing 'negative' or 'non-neutral' judgements towards ethnic minorities, than any other population. This is also borne out by the data obtained from Experiment Five; whereas the school and technical college subjects tended to endorse the 'essence'

of the traditional stereotype, their student counterparts produced neutrally toned adjectives (and this despite the fact that included in this semantic differential format were a selection of evaluative pairs of adjectives). This variable of student caution is most likely to have affected the types of data produced.

The 'white person' stimulus figure receives very scant agreements over the ten sets of data. 'Clean' is the only adjective which overlaps to any great extent, and even the simplistic approach of Experiment Six yields conflicting impressions. Students in this experiment portray the stereotype of an Englishman of the 'Raj' era, whereas the school and technical college population present the stereotype of the Englishman of the protestant ethic. As with the black racial stimulus, Experiments Two, Three and Four, do not conform to the data produced in Experiments Five and Six. As has been mentioned earlier, Deaux (1968) implied that lack of consensus was due to lack of information - however lack of consensus across data sets in this piece of experimental work, would seem more likely to be due to the fact that it is 'in-group' judgements that are being demanded, and it is here that subjects 'frame of reference' for the task will be most crucial - but which is undeterminable.

Racial stimulus figures provide a good validation for the postulate mentioned earlier of ascertaining 'stereotype Essence' before ascertaining individual reactions. It is

possible that in Experiments Two, Three and Four, when subjects were presented with the stimulus figure, stereotypical adjectives were not appropriate - also it should be noted in Experiment Two 'known' stereotypical adjectives were not included.

The 'model' stimulus figure in the occupational section was the third character to receive scant consensus across data sets, although the 'core' of the traditional stereotype is presented in Experiment Six data.

Sub Table B

Model		Exp. 6	Exps. 2-5
Attractive } Beautiful }	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{3}{3}$	$\frac{1}{6}$
Sophisticated	$\frac{5}{9}$	$\frac{2}{3}$	$\frac{3}{6}$
Colourful	$\frac{4}{9}$	$\frac{0}{3}$	$\frac{4}{6}$

As can be seen from the above sub-table, very few adjectives have a consensus across the ten data sets and those produced in Experiment Six are not the same as those in Experiments Two to Five. This category might be a striking example (especially with the data from Experiment Two being viewed) of how the format presented to the subject will influence the stereotype content. Each set of data for Experiments Two, Three and Four, seem to endorse one

	EXPERIMENT TWO	EXPERIMENT THREE	EXPERIMENT FOUR	EXPERIMENT FIVE			EXPERIMENT SIX			
				SCHOOL POPULATION	TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION	STUDENT POPULATION	ADULT EDUCATION POPULATION	STUDENT POPULATION	SCHOOL POPULATION	TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION
NURSE	STRONG PLEASANT FAVOURABLE DEPENDABLE PRECISE ACTIVE SOPHISTICATED CULTURED COLOURFUL	DEDICATED FRIENDLY LIKABLE CHEERFUL RELIABLE EFFICIENT CARING KIND BUSY POLITE HAPPY PLEASANT PRACTICAL	HARD-WORKING KIND PRACTICAL SYMPATHETIC ACTIVE EFFICIENT GENTLE DEDICATED	INTELLIGENT PLEASANT RELIABLE EFFICIENT HELPFUL HARD-WORKING DEDICATED KIND PRECISE	INTELLIGENT PLEASANT RELIABLE EFFICIENT HELPFUL HARD-WORKING DEDICATED KIND ADVENTUROUS COLOURLESS	INTELLIGENT PLEASANT RELIABLE EFFICIENT HELPFUL HARD-WORKING DEDICATED KIND ADVENTUROUS COLOURLESS	EFFICIENT PATIENT DEDICATED HARD-WORKING KIND	EFFICIENT NEAT SYMPATHETIC DEDICATED KIND	EFFICIENT INTELLIGENT HELPFUL HARD-WORKING KIND	HELPFUL LOYAL DEDICATED HARD-WORKING HAPPY
POLICEMAN	STRAID STRONG RUGGED PRECISE NAIVE TENACIOUS CONSERVATIVE STABLE COLOURLESS	PATIENT HELPFUL DUTIFUL EFFICIENT PRACTICAL SELF-CONTROLLED	STRICT STEADY HELPFUL STRONG DETERMINED ALERT CALM LAW-ABIDING CONFORMIST EFFICIENT QUICK ACTING	INTELLIGENT HELPFUL HARD-WORKING STRONG RUGGED KIND	STRONG RUGGED PRECISE	PLEASANT RELIABLE EFFICIENT HELPFUL DEDICATED STRAID PRECISE COLOURLESS KIND	HELPFUL STRONG TALL AUTHORITATIVE RELIABLE LAW-ABIDING DEPENDABLE LAW-ABIDING	HELPFUL TALL AUTHORITATIVE RELIABLE LAW-ABIDING	HELPFUL STRONG INTELLIGENT EFFICIENT HARD-WORKING	HELPFUL ALERT INTELLIGENT STRICT DEDICATED RELIABLE
MODEL	SOPHISTICATED ECCENTRIC JUST UNDEPENDABLE CHANGABLE COLOURFUL	EGOTISTICAL GLAMOROUS BEAUTIFUL YOUNG AMBITIOUS GRACEFUL BUSY	IMPRAGICAL AFFECTED SOPHISTICATED VAIN AMBITIOUS FASHIONABLE SMOOTH HARD SELFISH BITCHY CONFIDENT SELF-OPINIONATED CHARMING DOMINEERING SHOWY INTOLERANT ERRATIC	DELICATE COLOURFUL	COLOURFUL	DELICATE COLOURFUL SOPHISTICATED	↔	SOPHISTICATED ATTRACTIVE TALL ELEGANT GLAMOROUS	SOPHISTICATED BEAUTIFUL GOOD FIGURE HAPPY INTELLIGENT	SMART BEAUTIFUL RICH CLEAN HARD-WORKING

Table to show the stereotypical adjectives produced by subjects in experiments, two, three, four, five and six, for the OCCUPATIONAL categories.

TABLE TWO

aspect of the stereotype of the 'model'; but it is interesting to note that when data from Experiments Five and Six is compared with Experiments Two, Three and Four, no negative adjectives are presented in the former, whilst several are present in the latter, (perhaps another evidence of the 'Pollyanna' hypothesis at work?).

Why there should be such scant agreements across experimental data, and (with the exception of Experiment Four) so few adjectives produced within experiments, (when for the other two occupational stimulus figures there is much more) is not evident. One reason might be that less information exists and contact is minimal with this occupational grouping than with the other two - however, this is only a tentative hypothesis, and is another instance of where knowledge of subjects' frames of reference would be extremely useful.

For the remainder of the occupational categories, there is extremely high agreement across the experimental data as to what attributes define a 'policeman' and a 'nurse'. This is the first instance so far, where data from Experiments Three, Four and Five agree closely with the 'traditional' stereotype data of Experiment Six.

Sub Table C

Nurse	Exp 6	Exps 2-5	Policeman	Exp 6	Exps 2-5
Dedicated	$\frac{8}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{5}{6}$	Helpful	$\frac{8}{10}$ $\frac{4}{4}$ $\frac{4}{6}$
Efficient	$\frac{8}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{5}{6}$	Strong	$\frac{6}{10}$ $\frac{2}{4}$ $\frac{4}{6}$
Kind	$\frac{8}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{5}{6}$	Reliable Dependable	$\frac{4}{10}$ $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{6}$
Hard Working	$\frac{7}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{4}{6}$	Efficient	$\frac{4}{10}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{3}{6}$
Helpful	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{2}{4}$	$\frac{3}{6}$		
Pleasant	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{0}{4}$	$\frac{5}{6}$		
Reliable	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{0}{4}$	$\frac{4}{6}$		

There is greatest concordance for the stimulus category of nurse. This category (and also that of policeman) are less emotive than 'black person' and have not acquired the taboos that surround any kind of racial judgement. These two particular intra-national stereotypes have been particularly clear-cut across the population data, and within each experiment, with the exception of Experiment Two, are easily differentiated. The fact that the stereotypes (which emerge in Experiment Two) for 'nurse' and 'policeman' are very similar is perhaps a product of the particular range of adjectives offered to the subjects. These were

adjectives that were stereotypical for American subjects but which might not offer sufficient chance to differentiate to the present British subjects - illustrating the point made earlier. Another reason why these two occupations should each have such a high degree of concordance in their stereotypes might be the importance of the role these two occupations have in, and for, the social structure. The adjectives attributed to the two characters seem to reflect the qualities that individuals feel are necessary to the occupational role, and which are stressed in media-propagated information about these categories. It would be interesting to see if the same terms were applied to occupations that could be sub-sumed under the generic title of 'nurse' and 'policeman', e.g. nursing auxiliary, or 'panda car driver', or if these 'qualities' are reserved for the 'core' occupation - this was not undertaken here.

One of the explanations sometimes applied to the concept of 'national stereotypes' is that they are the product of projection - Duijker and Frijda maintain that national stereotypes if viewed in this way could be compared with a nation wide projection test, in which people faced with an unstructured situation reveal some of their own characteristics. However, the fact that general 'trends' may be discovered across 'national stereotypes' and the fact that autostereotypes tend to be for the most part 'positive', indicate that this premise of projection cannot be totally accepted for national stereotyping.

Thus although 'national stereotypes' might not be explicable in this way, it is possible that 'INTRA-national' stereotypy might be the product of just such a phenomena. A possible postulate might be that intra national stereotypes of the nurse is the projection of the inner feelings concerning the 'mother figure' in its extreme form, whilst the stereotype of the policeman is the stereotype of the extreme authoritative 'father figure'.

Whatever the explanation for the appearance of such distinctive stereotype for these two categories, it is evident that producing them presents no problems to the subjects (of whatever population), and that these stereotypes will be easily recognisable. Being essentially positive stereotypes, there seems no valid reason why their content should be as subject to change as racial stereotypes and at present there seems no reason why 'taboo' connotations should be attached to such judgements. These occupational stereotypes clearly indicate that stereotypy is sometimes involved when subjects are presented with a minimal amount of information.

The final two categories were concerned with the dress/occupational category, including the stimulus figures hippy and businessman, and these (like the previous two categories) achieves a high degree of consensus across the ten potential data sets.

EXPERIMENT TWO	EXPERIMENT THREE	EXPERIMENT FOUR	EXPERIMENT FIVE				EXPERIMENT SIX			
			SCHOOL POPULATION	TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION	STUDENT POPULATION	ADULT EDUCATION POPULATION	STUDENT POPULATION	ADULT EDUCATION POPULATION	SCHOOL POPULATION	TECHNICAL COLLEGE POPULATION
H I P P Y ECCENTRIC SLOVENLY EXCITABLE CHANGABLE	CAREFREE EASY GOING RELAXED HAPPY PLEASANT YOUNG	EASY GOING CARELESS FREE UNCONVENTIONAL EGOTISTICAL UNACCEPTED ATHEIST NON-CONFORMIST FREAKISH UNTIDY EXTROVERT	SHABBY UNRELIABLE DIRTY LAZY	SHABBY DIRTY LAZY UNCONVENTIONAL	UNRELIABLE SHABBY DIRTY UNCONVENTIONAL ECCENTRIC ARTISTIC	LONG-HAIRED DIRTY LAZY UNTIDY UNCONVENTIONAL	LONG-HAIRED DIRTY LAZY DIRTY-TAKING UNTIDY	LONG-HAIRED DIRTY LAZY DIRTY-TAKING UNTIDY	DIRTY LAZY UNINTELLIGENT DIRTY-TAKING SHABBY	DIRTY LAZY ASOR DIRTY-TAKING HAPPY
B U S I N E S S M A N STANDARD RESERVED STABLE HARD-WORKING GREEDY PRECISE UNARTISTIC	AVERAGE CONVENTIONAL MIDDLE-CLASS PREDICTABLE	SELF-RIGHTEOUS RESERVED CAPABLE DISCIPLINED INTOLERANT UPRIGHT CONSCIENTIOUS CONVENTIONAL POLITE ORDERLY HARD SUPERIOR SELF-ASSURED AMBITIOUS HABITUALLY POMPUS	INTELLIGENT SMART CLEAN RICH	INTELLIGENT SMART CLEAN CONVENTIONAL RICH SOPHISTICATED LEADER	INTELLIGENT SMART CLEAN CONVENTIONAL RICH HARD-WORKING PRECISE STABLE NAIVE GREEDY UNARTISTIC	CONVENTIONAL SMART ASTUTE ORDERLY SHREWD	CONVENTIONAL SMART FAT WELL-DRESSED WEALTHY	CONVENTIONAL SMART FAT WELL-DRESSED WEALTHY	INTELLIGENT HARD-WORKING EFFICIENT CLEAN RICH	INTELLIGENT WELL-DRESSED MERCENARY CLEAN RICH HARD-WORKING

Table to show the stereotypical adjectives produced by the subjects in experiments, two, three, four, five and six, for the DRESS/ OCCUPATIONAL categories.

TABLE THREE

Sub Table D

Hippy	Exp 6	Exps 2-5	Businessman	Exp 6	Exps 2-5
Dirty)	$\frac{8}{10}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	Rich	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{3}{6}$
Slovenly)				$\frac{3}{4}$	
Shabby)	$\frac{7}{10}$	$\frac{3}{4}$	Conventional	$\frac{6}{10}$	$\frac{4}{6}$
Untidy)				$\frac{2}{4}$	
Lazy	$\frac{6}{10}$	$\frac{4}{4}$	Intelligent	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{3}{6}$
Unconventional	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	Clean	$\frac{5}{10}$	$\frac{2}{6}$
			Hard working	$\frac{4}{10}$	$\frac{2}{6}$

As with the other categories there is some degree of concordance between the 'traditional' stereotype expressed in Experiment Six, and the data produced in the other experiments. However, Experiments Two, Three and Four, are not in such high agreement with Experiment Six as is Experiment Five. The hippy stereotype and the businessman stereotype are almost the complete converse of each other and their roles are possible seen as being diametrically opposed in society. As with the previously discussed figures, there are less social taboos surrounding these characters than any 'racial' presentations, and thus the high concordance may be explicable in these terms. The 'hippy' has a high proportion of disapprobious terms applied in the stereotype more so than any other stimulus category. The 'hippy'

stereotype would seem to be of comparatively recent origin, yet (from the 122 subjects' responses in Experiment Six) it is very well known and incorporated into the social structure - which might be possibly due to the vast amount of information put forward about this category in various forms.

On a projective level, the hippy could be regarded as being a projection of 'id', with the uncontrolled anti-social impulses being much in evidence; whilst the businessman could be regarded as the projection of the superego, with the ego acting as mediator. Certainly, some aspects of the businessman stereotype are highly desirable social attributes.

One possible reason why there is such a sharp distinction between the types of adjectives produced for racial stimulus figures, and those produced for the occupation and dress/occupational figures, might be that the latter five are fundamentally concerned with roles (albeit intra-national roles), whereas the stimulus figures of black person and white person are much less 'tangible' and of an entirely different calibre. From one point of view (and the viewpoint expressed in this experimental data) all seven stimulus labels are equatable, in that they all involve category nouns - however, as has been mentioned previously, the reasons for the distinctions between the racial and the occupational and dress/occupational overall categories probably lie in the fact that the three differ

in degree of emotivity and 'tabooness' - also important would seem to be the fact that the racial group is concerned with inter-national stereotypes, whilst the occupational and dress/occupational groups are concerned with intra-national stereotypes, which would appear to be much more differentiated and much more 'socially acceptable' for individuals to endorse.

One of the drawbacks of this type of study is that it is based on linguistic labels, which of necessity makes it a qualitative study and many assumptions have to be made as to the way in which these adjectives are used and presented by subjects. For this reason, although there are indications that many of these adjectives are in fact stereotypical, they should always be interpreted with caution.

Comparison of 'Generality' scores across Experiments

One of the main hypotheses tested in these experiments concerned the concept of 'stereotype generality', however, the data presented to support this hypothesis from the various experiments is not enough to confirm or refute the concept. The tables presented below show what relationships between categories were significant for each experiment - presenting the data so that an overall view of 'generality' can be seen. As with each individual experiment, when generality relationships are compared across experiments and populations, there is a 'random' aspect to the data. There is only one instance where

Table showing the significant 'generality' correlations between categories, for experiments two and five (Semantic-Differential formats)

	SIMON	BRENDA	EMMA	FORMAL FEMALE	CASUAL FEMALE	HIPPY (INCLUDING CASUAL MALE)	BUSINESSMAN (INCLUDING FORMAL MALE)	TRAIN GUARD	MODEL	POLICEMAN	NURSE	WHITE PERSON (MALE + FEMALE)
BLACK PERSON (MALE + FEMALE)	✓	✓					✓		✓	✓		
WHITE PERSON (MALE + FEMALE)		✓				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
NURSE									✓			
POLICEMAN	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓						
MODEL			✓			✓	✓					
TRAIN GUARD												
BUSINESSMAN (INCLUDING FORMAL MALE)				✓		✓						
HIPPY (INCLUDING CASUAL MALE)					✓							
CASUAL FEMALE												
FORMAL FEMALE		✓										
EMMA	✓	✓										
BRENDA	✓											

Key:

1	2	3	4	5
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- 1 = Experiment Two (grp. one subjects)
 2 = Experiment Two (grp. two subjects)
 3 = Experiment Five (Tech. col. Subjects)
 4 = Experiment Five (School subjects)
 5 = Experiment Five (Student subjects)

Table showing the significant 'generality' correlations between categories, for experiments three and four. (Adjective production and 'objective' judgement formats.)

	SIMON	BRENDA	EMMA	FORMAL FEMALE	CASUAL FEMALE	HIPPY (INCLUDING CASUAL MALE)	BUSINESSMAN (INCLUDING FORMAL MALE)	TRAIN GUARD	MODEL	POLICEMAN	NURSE	WHITE PERSON (MALE + FEMALE)
BLACK PERSON (MALE + FEMALE)					✓							✓
WHITE PERSON (MALE + FEMALE)											✓	
NURSE				✓						✓		
POLICEMAN				✓								
MODEL												
TRAIN GUARD				✓								
BUSINESSMAN (INCLUDING FORMAL MALE)												
HIPPY (INCLUDING CASUAL MALE)												
CASUAL FEMALE												
FORMAL FEMALE												
EMMA												
BRENDA												

Key:

1	2
3	4

- 1 = Experiment Three (Adjective prod.)
 2 = Experiment Three ('Objective' judg.t)
 3 = Experiment Four (Adjective prod.)
 4 = Experiment Four ('Objective' judg.t)

three populations have produced the same significant relationship, and this is for the relationship between Nurse and white person - which would, to some extent, be expected since they both refer to in-group stereotypy. However, for the other possible significant relationships they vary from experiment to experiment.

It can be seen from the comparison of stereotypical data obtained through Experiments Two to Six presented on page 258 that of the seven categories that are common to these experiments the traditional stereotype (as expressed in data obtained through Experiment Six) and the consensual adjectives obtained in Experiments Two, Three, Four and Five are in greatest agreement for the categories of policeman, nurse, hippy (including casual male) and businessman (including formal male). It might thus be possible to postulate that individuals are stereotyping with commitment in these categories. When the possible generality relationships are viewed within the limits of these four categories, there are six possible relationships between these categories for each experiment that might be significant. Out of these thirty-six (six each for Experiments Two to Five) five of these relationships are significant - and four of these are significant when the relationship includes the category of 'hippy'. (This is somewhat surprising, in that this particular stereotype must be of comparatively recent origin - the concept of a hippy having originated only in the past fifteen years. It provides a good

example of the speed at which a stereotype can become established amongst whole sections of a community.) It might be possible to put forward a tentative hypothesis that states that if individuals endorse the stereotype of the hippy, then they would be likely to endorse other occupational stereotypes; (there is no indication from this experimental data that the endorsement of the stereotype of the hippy will bear any relationship to racial stereotypes). However, the data obtained here cannot provide complete validation for this hypothesis.

The inconsistencies that have been found in this comparison of 'generality' relationships across experiments may have been due to the following factors: the mode of analysis in Experiments Two to Five was deliberately made stringent to cut out any chance element in the data - this might at the same time have eliminated some of the likelihood of generality (although this is by no means certain). The actual structuring of the tests themselves, although adequate and useful for the elicitation of stereotypes might not have been the most useful for the testing of generality. Or there is the final alternative, for the interpretation of these results, and that is that the concept of 'generality of stereotype endorsement' is an untenable position. One would be loth to accept this latter premise, in that the literature (although the information used to substantiate the hypothesis initially was in the main culled from 'non-stereotype' areas of research) would indicate that

the postulate was reasonable - and one which has been validated since this research presented here began, by Gardner et al 1972, with his work on the endorsements of racial stimuli by Filipinos.

Retrospectively it would seem that the most reasonable prognostication for this particular hypothesis, is that it should be tested for separately; stereotype content should be assessed initially, and the information gained in this way used to structure a design that would be primarily orientated towards the assessment of generality.

Comparison of Stimuli across Experiments

A variety of modes of stimuli were used in these experiments, to express the various categories that were presented to the subject. This could possibly be an important variable that would affect the results obtained. The whole question of the importance of information content in the mode of stimulus presentation has been summarised by Fosdick and Tannenbaum (1964) who say "How the communicator encodes his message may be as important for effect as what the message is about", and essentially it is this informational variability that is important here.

Experiments One and Two used photographs as a mode of presentation, whilst Experiment Three used sentence description, Experiment Four - line drawings and Experiments Five and Six - concept headings (concept headings were also used for the second part of Experiment Two).

Fosdick and Tannenbaum maintain that different modalities have their own sets of distinctive nonverbal characteristics which seem to be related to semantic responses in the decoder and suggest that there may be relationships among these sets of characteristics. There are very few studies whose sole aim has been to compare the differing informational and perceptual thresholds for these various modes of presentation. Ryan and Schwartz (1956) conducted a pilot study to investigate whether different modalities of stimuli produced significant differences in time of perception. The four sets of stimuli they used were: line drawings, shaded drawings, photographs and cartoons (two of which were used as stimulus modalities here). They found that line drawings required the longest time for perception, whilst cartoons were seen in the shortest time. Shaded drawings and photographs came between these two with photographs being perceived slightly quicker. Ryan and Schwartz maintain that there is considerable justification for extending their finding to general classes of objects (i.e. complex objects) in which the crucial relationships are three-dimensional. It might be reasonable to postulate that these findings can be extrapolated to another 3-d category - that of people. Certainly the essence of cartoons of people is exaggeration of certain key features that enable quick and easy identification. Thus if extrapolation from cartoons of objects to cartoons of people seems appropriate, then extrapolation from other modal

presentations of objects to other modal presentations of people would also seem logical.

The first type of stimulus used in these experiments was photographs. One of the advantages of using this medium is that variables are to some extent manipulatable; another virtue is that they make a less emotive demand (especially when 'racial' categories are being presented), which gives the subject a broader framework, within which to make his judgements. Psychologists have long been interested in studying judgements made on photographs of people. The initial use of such stimuli was in the judgements made on facial expression as evinced through photographs (Hammes 1963 Woodworth and Schlosberg 1954), and currently interest is centred (as has been mentioned previously) on the variables affecting the encoder's intent and the decoder's perception of this intent. Not many studies using photographs are concerned with indirect person perception; indeed as Warr and Knapper maintain (1968) "The use of photographic stimuli has often been largely incidental to the main aims of discovering something about the role of cues in the direct perception of people". The greatest interest seems to have been centred, not upon the general physique, but rather upon the cues provided by a person's face - again often perceived indirectly through the use of a photograph. (Secord is probably one of the main investigators in this type of area, and has produced much data researching the effects of the manipulation of physiognomic

features and their perception.) The sometime dramatic effects that such manipulations can produce in the subjects' judgements seems to indicate that facial characteristics might be especially important in indirect person perception, where fewer additional cues are available. The work of Secord, Thornton, etc. have all exemplified the informational properties of the face.

Photographs in Experiments One and Two were used to present 'racial' figures and were used because they seemed to be less emotive than other modalities - they were also used when stereotypes of dress style were to be investigated (in this case because of the facility provided by photographs in presenting this kind of information). However, (as mentioned in the discussion of Experiment One) if photographs are used which are not designed specifically for the purpose for which they are intended, extraneous variables can distort the data obtained. When the photographic stimuli were presenting 'face only stimuli' these variables were to a large extent eliminated and the judgements for the various faces became differentiated (so much so, that very few consensual adjectives became apparent). It is possible that photographs of members of racial categories, although greatly aiding a 'taboo-less' presentation of material, are seen just as images of individual persons and in the absence of other informational cues, judgements are made on these persons - ie subjects do not use the stimulus person's group membership as an identifying referent for their response.

Thus photographs, although of possible value in person perception studies, might not be the most relevant stimuli for stereotype studies, unless individual identifying features are removed. (Liggett 1957, managed to do this in his development of a projective testing technique - taking photographs of faces, he re-photographed them behind occluded glass, so that only the barest outlines of the faces were visible to the subject, thus the subjects had to rely on their own experiences and informational systems to come to a conclusion as to the 'personality' of these ambiguous characters.)

Stereotypes are concerned first with groups and only later with individuals, and perhaps the presented stimuli should reflect this concern - which would be difficult to do using clear, close-up photographs of individuals. Graham (1954) conducted an extensive survey of responses of 680 Britons to ten photographs of American 'types', and postulated and proved to his satisfaction that photographs were an extremely effective 'projective' method. He found that the use of photographs "as a projective device, in an international attitude survey, was effective since the resultant free responses yielded much valuable data about the respondents and their attitudes towards America". However, his analysis was more concerned with individual responses than with a consensual aspect.

Direct comparison of different modalities of stimuli across the experiments presented here is difficult, because

methodologies as well as stimuli changed across experiments. On the basis of the stimuli presenting exactly what the experimenter wants to be shown - line drawings are probably the best medium, in that exact stipulations can be laid down as to what the drawings should contain. This medium was used in Experiment Four, and proved successful as a way of eliciting responses but was not the most successful in eliciting stereotypes.

In these experiments, only one direct comparison of differing stimulus modality effects, with comparable technique and comparable population, is possible. This is in Experiments Two and Five. The responses of students to eight semantic differential bi-polar adjectival scales common to the two experiments can be compared. Experiment Two presented photographs of the stimulus persons to the student subjects, whilst Experiment Five presented subjects with the same stimulus figures but in the form of category labels. The data from these two experiments were analysed through the means of a 't' test and the results obtained appear overleaf. The judgements were more towards the extreme ends of the scale when students were presented with category labels, than when photographs were presented (here, judgements hovered around the medium positions of the scale). Thus it would appear that if stereotypical endorsements are expected, a modality of simple category label would be more effective than the use of photographs.

However, it should be pointed out here that concept

Table Six

't' scores obtained through comparison of the student populations of Experiments Two and Five on the relevant eight bi-polar adjectival scales for each category

Black Person

Humble/Proud	t = 2.207	sig at .05
Religious/Irreligious	t = .027	non sig
Sophisticated/Naive	t = 2.57	sig at .05
Talkative/Taciturn	t = 5.02	sig at .05
Affected/Natural	t = 1.63	approaching sig at .05
Lazy/Hard working	t = 3.41	sig at .05
Happy/Sad	t = 4.95	sig at .05
Sensitive/Insensitive	t = 1.89	sig at .05

White Person

Humble/Proud	t = 2.29	sig at .05
Religious/Irreligious	t = 5.8	sig at .05
Sophisticated/Naive	t = 1.46	approaching sig at .05
Talkative/Taciturn	t = 5.16	sig at .05
Affected/Natural	t = 1.027	non sig
Lazy/Hard working	t = 6.78	sig at .05
Happy/Sad	t = 3.06	sig at .05
Sensitive/Insensitive	t = 1.71	sig at .05

't' scores continuedNurse

Staid/Eccentric	t = .05	non sig
Rugged/Delicate	t = 2.14	sig at .05
Precise/Imprecise	t = 6.68	sig at .05
Adventurous/Unadventurous	t = .89	non sig
Sophisticated/Naive	t = .93	non sig
Stable/Changeable	t = 4.14	sig at .05
Colourful/Colourless	t = 3.39	sig at .05
Kind/Unkind	t = 2.57	sig at .05

Policeman

Staid/Eccentric	t = 2.86	sig at .05
Rugged/Delicate	t = 1.69	sig at .05
Precise/Imprecise	t = .52	non sig
Adventurous/Unadventurous	t = 5.5	sig at .05
Sophisticated/Naive	t = 9.7	sig at .05
Stable/Changeable	t = 6.32	sig at .05
Colourful/Colourless	t = 2.63	sig at .05
Kind/Unkind	t = 1.57	approaching sig at .05

Model

Staid/Eccentric	t = 4.9	sig at .05
Rugged/Delicate	t = .59	non sig
Precise/Imprecise	t = 1.35	approaching sig at .05

't' scores continued.Model

Adventurous/Unadventurous	t = 2.85	sig at .05
Sophisticated/Naive	t = 1.02	non sig
Stable/Changeable	t = 4.71	sig at .05
Colourful/Colourless	t = 5.47	sig at .05
Kind/Unkind	t = .85	non sig

Hippy

Excited/Reserved	t = 2.4	sig at .05
Staid/Eccentric	t = 4.25	sig at .05
Sophisticated/Naive	t = 2.22	sig at .05
Greedy/Generous	t = 3.15	sig at .05
Artistic/Unartistic	t = .31	non sig
Follower/Leader	t = 1.86	sig at .05

Businessman

Excited/Reserved	t = 1.6	sig at .05
Staid/Eccentric	t = 3.03	sig at .05
Sophisticated/Naive	t = 3.86	sig at .05
Greedy/Generous	t = 1.64	sig at .05
Artistic/Unartistic	t = 2.4	sig at .05
Follower/Leader	t = .186	non sig

There are only six scales for the categories of Hippy and Businessman because of the inclusion of two extra 'stereotypical' scales to create a balance of stereotypical scales for the two stimulus figures.

labels as stimuli have several drawbacks. Hayakawa (1950) has pointed out that the actual individual who is labelled 'Jew' or 'Athlete' is not identical with the idea of 'Jew' or 'Athlete', whatever those notions might be - thus although concept labels might be useful for group identification (as with the case of stereotype elicitation) they are not the most useful stimuli for assessment of an individual.

For the purpose of stereotype elicitation it would seem that the use of the concept or category label indicating a particular inter or intra-national group would be most effective, in that it would pre-dispose the individual subject towards group judgements as opposed to individual judgements. (There is also to be borne in mind however, that for the elicitation of some stereotypes - notably dress style - concept or category labels would be inappropriate.)

The Role of Consensus in the Analysis of Stereotype Data

The analysis of all the data obtained through these six experiments has taken as its main emphasis the concept of consensus - the stereotype of any particular group being defined as those characteristics chosen most frequently. Theoretical formulations of stereotypes have omitted, for the most part, the significance of consensual judgement. Brigham (1971) has summarised the various theoretical approaches as follows: "Ethnic stereotypes have been viewed as incorrect generalisations, generalisations of unspecified validity, simple categories and concepts, products of faulty thought processes, generalisations characterised by rigidity and as (perceptual) habits." This confusion is to some extent traceable to Lippmann (1922) when he suggests that when individuals utilise stereotypes "we pick out what our culture has already defined for us and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture". Katz and Braly, with their traditional technique, have emphasised this aspect of stereotypy "by focussing on consensus this technique provides an estimate, based on the sample tested, of the attributes perceived in a culture, as characteristic of a particular group" (Gardner, Kirby and Finlay 1973) and assesses the culturally-held aspect of stereotypy.

The controversy over whether assessment procedures should focus entirely on consensus aspect of stereotypy is one which is of comparatively recent origin - in that some investigators now maintain that it is more relevant to study

what particular meaning a stereotype has for an individual - and to this end some research has already been completed employing this strategy (notably Gardner Wonnacott and Taylor 1968 - using the technique that they call the stereotype differential, which allows for an individual measure of the degree to which an individual subscribes to the stereotype by looking at his individual rating for each particular scale.)

Many studies have shown (Vinacke 1957; Prothro and Melikian 1955) that stereotypes as consensually defined provide a type of information to the individual - though why or how this happens is still uncertain. To Vinacke 'consensual' stereotypes are a form of social reality in that they reflect how a specific culture views various groups. Prothro and Melikian (1955) have found that stereotypes obtained in different countries show (about some groups) more similarity than would be expected by chance. This concept of consensus would seem to indicate that stereotypes are based partly on information and that in some cases this information operates in common across different cultures. Gardner, Kirby and Finlay summarise their position in support of consensus as being indicative of 'information content' by saying that instead of stereotypes having a "kernel of truth", rather they have a shell of information ". . . the degree of consensus evidenced about any particular attribute . . . is not happenstance but instead reflects differing amounts of consistent information that subjects and therefore the group have about

the other group in question".

This aspect of consensuality (i.e. the informational aspect) would seem to be borne out in these experiments - at least for the occupational and dress/occupational categories. Here there is a high degree of consensus both within and across experiments, which, according to this 'informational' aspect of the concept, would indicate that it is this information that is being utilised by subjects. This hypothesis about informational determination of stereotypes and its relation to consensus would account for the high rate of recognition of stereotypes obtained in Experiment Six - and the fact that this was true when stereotypes gathered from one group were recognised by another subject population. Similar results were found by Centers (1951) where he found that subjects in one community could identify ethnic groups on the basis of stereotypes derived in another community eighteen years earlier. This was replicated successfully by Hoult in 1953 and in both cases, correct identification was considerably higher than could be reasonably expected by chance. In the Centers and the Hoult work subjects were presented with twelve attributes most consensually ascribed to the group in question - which might bring up the problem of whether accuracy of identification was a product of the large number of adjectives, or whether it was a product of the degree of consensus. The data presented in Experiment Six would suggest that it is the degree of consensus that leads to accurate identification since, in this case, only

five (and in some cases six) attributes were presented to the 122 subjects. Gardner, Kirby and Finlay designed an experiment to specifically test this hypothesis, and their results indicate that the degree of consensus in the stereotype has considerable information value to the subject "suggesting that in general stereotypes develop from information available to the community and that consensus noted in stereotype assessment procedures reflects the consistency of this information", Gardner Kirby and Finlay 1973.

Thus it can be seen that consensus is a very important concept for stereotype elicitation procedures, and analysis should be primarily concerned with this aspect for two reasons:

1. Through consensus can be obtained the 'essence' of the traditional stereotypes of various groups.
2. Through consensus can be obtained an indication of the informational properties contained within the relevant stereotype.

The trend towards developing techniques that allow individual differences in stereotype usage to be measured is an important one, and one which will provide much useful information as to the mechanisms of stereotyping - however 'consensus' is a vital characteristic of stereotype methodology and without it the judgements given by individuals have no standard against which to be measured. In the Experiments Two to Five, the criteria that have been set have been very stringent, in that agreement had to be over 65 per cent (and in some

cases, Experiment Three part two, and Experiment Four part two, as high as 80 per cent) before any judgement was regarded as consensual. Other investigators have been content to accept lower standards of consensus than this. It might have been the stringency of the criteria that have been set that led to the paucity of 'consensually acceptable' adjectives that are presented in the experimental data.

Comparison of Different sets of Subjects

Altogether four 'classes' of subjects were used in these experiments. Students formed the greatest number, but also included under this heading were interviewees for an undergraduate course. Although in the five experiments described here no control was made for sex, class and other sociological variables, academic background was more or less consistent for the students and interviewees (the majority of students were at the very beginning of their university course, and the interviewees were at the very end of their school career). The student and interviewee subjects were highly similar in age, background and level of academic achievement. Admittedly, it is not completely possible to say that these subjects are akin in all respects, but the main premise underlying their use as subjects can be supported, in that interviewees would be nearer in aims, perceptions and aspirations to students than to any other class of subject used.

The remaining three groups of subjects were made up of

a number from adult education classes, a group from a school population, and a group from a technical college. For all groups of subjects (with the exception of the adult education classes) the age range was between fourteen and twenty-three years.

No direct comparison is for the most part, possible because different techniques were used with different subjects. The only comparison that is possible between subjects is with the data contained within Experiment Five, where a school, technical college and student population carried out the same task with the same stimuli being presented to them. For the most part, the mean ratings for the three populations do not vary greatly, and neither does the degree of consensus evinced through the types of stereotypical adjectives produced by them. Agreement between the three populations is greatest for the occupational and dress/occupational, and mean rating agreement is apparent for the racial categories although the stereotypical adjectives (i.e. consensus) vary slightly for these race stimuli - with students making seemingly more cautious judgements.

There is very little disagreement between the four populations that were used in Experiment Six (i.e. student, school, technical college and adult education) where again all subjects were given the same task. Thus when comparisons of this sort are made, it would appear (for this set of experiments) that subject variables are of less importance than methodological differences - with the added provision

that student populations should be used with caution with regards to those stereotype areas that are either traditionally or currently viewed as controversial.

Further Discussion

This comparison over experiments, of different aspects of the data has revealed how important the choice of elicitation procedure is in any aspect of stereotypy research. Subject variables and stimulus mode variables are important, but must take second place to methodological variables as potential artefacts.

One of the most pressing needs, in order to eliminate the possibility of 'adjectival' artefacts in elicitation procedures, is that for normative data on the trait description words that are often used in studies of ethnic stereotypes and of person perception. There has been little systematic attempt to obtain such normative data and this lack is surprising in that it means that investigators have little information about the basic dimensions underlying the words they choose to include in their lists. Two exceptions to this criticism exist - one is the Anderson study (1968) validated on American students and chiefly concerned with the major dimension of likeability (because the words in this study were chosen for their relevance for person perception study) and the second study is that of Kirby and Gardner (1972) validated on Canadian students and concerned with concepts of evaluation and social desirability which

have particular relevance for the study of ethnic stereotypes. These latter investigators maintain that there are three obvious advantages to the existence of such normative data:

- i. Normative data would permit the investigator to select words with some criteria in mind instead of making a haphazard selection.
- ii. They would permit investigators to compare stereotypes about different groups in terms of the underlying dimensions rather than just in terms of content.
- iii. They would assist investigators in comparing lists from different studies.

In the Kirby and Gardner study they found that four factors - evaluation, imagery, activity, and familiarity accounted for the relationships among stereotype scales that they presented to their subjects. (Alternative dimensions might be those suggested by Finney (1968) such as factual, evaluative and projective.) There is a particular need for this type of data to be obtained and validated on a British population, because where language is concerned there is virtually no such thing as a culture-free situation - how far data that is obtained and validated on one population is capable of extrapolation to another population is a highly debatable point. As far as this investigator is aware, there has been no attempt made within Britain to obtain

normative data on trait description words, and indeed, there has only been a minimal amount of interest in the field of stereotypy research as a whole within Britain.

This problem of how far data that is validated or obtained from one population can be useful in inferring the validity of responses obtained in another population is the reason why a comparison of stereotypical adjectives obtained on American and Canadian students, and the stereotypical adjectives obtained here, has only been cursory. Apart from this "population/culture" aspect, there is a time lapse problem in that stereotypes are, to a certain extent, permeable and fluid, as evidenced by the very sudden and dramatic change in the stereotype held by Americans of the Japanese, before and after Pearl Harbour (Seago 1947) and also the shift in the stereotypes reported by Gilbert (1951) when replicating the original Katz and Braly experiment. With the changing social situation in Britain (and indeed in the whole of the Western world), during the past ten years, it is perfectly feasible to suggest that there has been a definite shift in the overt social and intellectual acceptability of expressing overtly certain kinds of opinions concerning specific groups - notably racial groups.

Duijker and Frijda postulate that stereotypes "may serve as instruments for maintaining an existing social order . . . (and) may reflect an existing power structure and the reactions of people to that structure". If this is acceptable then it provides further backing for the concept

of fluidity of inter-national stereotypes, and the need for caution in the making or interpretation of comparisons between differing stereotype contents.

This set of experimental work has shown that occupational stereotypes are both stronger and more differentiated than racial stereotypes (including under the heading of occupational the two figures classified as dress/occupational). This finding has been borne out by the work of Feldman (1972) where he found that 'race' did not have the central significance for subjects that occupation had. He found that the direction of the effects of race and occupation in his studies "showed that working class persons are accorded the characteristics that were originally ascribed to the Negro, and that Whites are accorded characteristics ascribed to professionals". (This might be borne out in this set of experimental data where there is a certain degree of similarity between the stereotype of the 'white' person and the businessman and the close resemblance that seems to exist between the 'hippy' stereotype and certain aspects of the Experiment Six data for the Negro stereotype.) The stimuli presented here have always been simple stimulus persons and have never combined two such influencing variables as race and occupation together in a stimulus figure (although this had been an original intention of the research). However, it would appear from the existing literature on this topic (notably Edwards 1940) and Feldman (1972) that the 'stronger' and more differentiated stereotype would take precedence in the example given above; therefore occupational attributes could be expected to

overcome racial attributes if the two were in 'conflict'.

One of the implicit assumptions in stereotypy research is that the subject will always be making a choice judgement when he attributes a particular trait to a particular group - e.g. when an individual is characterised as being 'musical' he is presumably being described as being 'more musical' than another person. What that particular group is however, will be unknown because traditionally such a request has never been made in a stereotype elicitation procedure. Experiment Four attempted to assess 'change in stereotype' when the comparison group was altered - but this was only done for three of the stimulus figures, i.e. white male, white female, and nurse. The stereotypical adjectives for these first two figures changed almost completely when their comparison figures were altered - however, the nurse as a representative of the occupational category exhibited greater consistency of stereotypical adjectives within the altered stimulus pairings (which would be expected as occupational stereotypes, as has been mentioned before, are stronger than racial stereotypes). Thus it would seem that an improved stereotype elicitation procedure should be constructed in such a way that the subject can make a comparison judgement - the nature of which would then be known to the experimenter. This would then give greater impetus to the study of traditional stereotypes as such, and also to the study of individual differences in the use of stereotypes.

As has been mentioned earlier, one of the things that

has bedevilled stereotypy research since its inception has been the lack of adequate theory. This might be in part due to the reluctance to accept the very widespread existence of stereotypes - Coombs (1953) goes so far as to say that the mapping of individuals into classes of any sort (e.g. doctor, Arab, rider etc.) are all examples of stereotypes. There is a need to pull the threads of the research together in such a way that a reasonably specific theory could be formulated - the idea that stereotypes provide a 'shell of information' for individuals and help them define their group allegiances might provide just such a basis. The experimental work reported here does provide some validation for this idea, and it is one which might help both to formulate a theory and also to devise a more sophisticated elicitation procedure. The most promising area with which to begin developing such ideas would seem to be that area concerning occupational stereotypes rather than racial stereotypes, in that the former can more easily be verified and assessed.

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APPENDICES

Copy of statements presented to subjects in Experiment One

Instructions

"Given below are a list of statements concerning 'X'. You could be male or female, or of any nationality. Please read these through very carefully. A series of photographs will be given to you, and these should be studied with care. What I want you to do is to allocate these statements to one of the

photographs, by placing the number of it (you will find this on the back of the photograph) alongside the statement. There will

EXPERIMENT ONE and you should allocate for each photograph

photograph, or alternatively, you might find that eight, nine or

ten of the statements seem to be applicable to you. There is no

limit to the number of statements that can be applied to any one

photograph.

When making your judgments, would you also consider that

statements might be applied to the photograph of the man in the

street. When making your allocations, there should be no

personally considered to be fitting for the photograph of the

the allocations that you think would be made of the

Copy of questionnaire presented to subjects in Experiment One.Instructions

"Given below are a list of statements concerning 'X', who could be male or female, or of any nationality. Please read these through very carefully. A series of photographs will be given to you, and these too should be studied with care. What I want you to do, is to allocate those statements that seem to 'fit' the photographs, by placing the number of it (you will find this on the back of the photograph) alongside the statement. Thus one statement might be all that you consider fitting for that particular photograph, or alternatively, you might feel that eight, nine or ten of the statements seem to be appropriate to you. There is no limit to the number of statements that can be applied to any one photograph.

When making your judgements, would you also consider what statements might be applied to the photographs by the man in the street. When making your allocations, please circle the numbers you personally consider to be fitting for the photographs, leaving the allocations that you think would be made by A.N. Other, uncircled."

Experiment One questionnaire continued:

STATEMENT	PHOTOGRAPH ALLOCATION
X likes travel	
X is scientifically minded	
X has a naive outlook	
X is loyal to family ties	
Nobody could be more courteous than X	
X can be capable of extreme laziness.	
X always dresses conservatively	
One cannot really depend upon X.	
X was alert to everything going on around him.	
X's jovial nature endeared him to all.	
Even if X lost at everything, he was ever the sportsman.	
X was always faithful to his friends.	
X had a radical viewpoint.	
X has an individualistic attitude to life.	
X showed imaginative flair	
X had always been a loner	
X could not be regarded as anything else but shrewd.	

Ambition was X's main characteristic.	
X was kind to everyone.	
X had a talkative nature	
X was neat and tidy	
X was stolid of bearing	
X was too sensitive to be always optimistic	
X had a reserved attitude to strangers.	
X had a practical streak.	
X liked dressing in bright colours.	
X was extremely religious	
X had been nationalistic throughout his life.	
X was of a phlegmatic disposition.	
Cunning characterises X's actions.	
X's gregariousness showed in his large circle of friends.	
X was benign towards most people.	
X was extremely ritualistic.	
X was precise in everything he did.	
X was always pleasure-loving.	
X met moments of stress in a Stoical way.	

X was inclined to be superstitious.	
X was of a materialistic turn of mind.	
X was always cheerful.	
X was always honest in his dealings with others.	
X had always been regarded as a scholarly person.	
X was a wise person.	
In all his dealings X was methodical.	
X was a very active person.	
X was of a witty turn of mind.	
X's sensual nature was always in evidence.	
X had always been a strong person.	
X tried always to be objective.	
Industriousness had always characterized X.	
X had a happy-go-lucky view of life.	

37 Superstitious
 38 Materialistic
 39 Cheerful
 40 Honest
 41 Scholarly
 42 Wise
 43 Methodical
 44 Active
 45 Witty
 46 Sensual
 47 Strong
 48 Objective
 49 Industrious
 50 Happy go lucky

Frequency Table showing the number of allocations per statement, per photograph. (Katz and Braly type adjective check list).

ADJECTIVE	:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Likes Travel		0	3	4	1	4	4	4	3	1	1	1	4
2 Scientifically minded		0	5	1	2	0	0	2	2	1	2	0	3
3 Naive		6	0	7	0	10	2	2	0	4	4	1	2
4 Loyal to Family		8	4	6	5	7	3	2	2	11	5	7	4
5 Courteous		4	5	1	2	5	3	3	0	8	4	4	3
6 Lazy		1	0	2	3	1	5	3	1	0	4	0	1
7 Conservative Dress		2	7	7	10	3	1	4	2	4	9	11	10
8 Undependable		3	0	1	2	0	3	1	4	0	1	1	1
9 Alert		0	6	1	0	1	3	4	7	1	1	2	7
10 Jovial		1	4	1	0	6	3	2	0	0	4	2	0
11 Sportsmanlike		0	2	0	1	1	0	2	0	4	3	1	3
12 Faithful to friends		3	4	4	2	3	5	2	2	7	4	1	2
13 Radical		0	3	0	2	0	1	0	9	0	0	2	3
14 Individualistic		1	2	1	1	1	1	1	8	2	0	2	1
15 Imaginative		0	2	1	0	1	2	1	2	6	0	2	1
16 Loner		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	0	2	4
17 Shrewd		0	3	1	7	2	1	0	5	0	3	4	6
18 Ambitious		0	4	1	4	0	0	2	6	0	0	1	2
19 Kind		3	2	5	1	4	3	0	0	6	3	3	1
20 Talkative		3	2	1	0	3	3	2	0	0	5	3	1
21 Neat and Tidy		4	5	6	7	4	4	2	4	7	3	9	2
22 Stolid		0	2	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	5	3	1
23 Sensitive		1	1	4	0	2	3	1	1	7	0	4	2
24 Reserved		6	1	8	5	5	2	0	6	5	0	4	4
25 Practical		1	4	3	3	1	2	3	3	0	7	5	2
26 Dressing Brightly		7	1	0	1	3	2	0	2	3	0	0	0
27 Religious		1	2	1	2	2	1	0	1	2	1	6	1
28 Nationalistic		1	3	0	4	0	0	0	8	0	3	3	6
29 Phlegmatic		0	1	2	3	0	1	1	2	3	1	1	3
30 Cunning		0	2	1	0	0	2	2	6	0	1	1	6
31 Gregarious		2	1	1	0	3	1	2	1	0	2	0	0
32 Benign		2	3	1	1	1	3	0	1	2	2	6	2
33 Ritualistic		3	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	2	1	2	1
34 Precise		1	6	3	3	0	0	1	4	3	3	5	4
35 Pleasure Loving		1	2	2	0	5	3	5	3	1	2	0	0
36 Stoical		0	3	1	5	0	0	0	2	2	1	6	5
37 Superstitious		9	2	0	1	3	2	0	4	6	1	2	3
38 Materialistic		0	1	2	6	1	1	3	4	0	4	2	2
39 Cheerful		4	3	2	0	3	2	3	0	2	6	2	0
40 Honest		5	5	2	2	3	1	1	2	6	3	3	2
41 Scholarly		0	5	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	1	1	4
42 Wise		0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4	2	0	3	5
43 Methodical		1	3	2	4	1	0	2	2	0	3	1	6
44 Active		1	2	0	0	4	2	4	5	0	4	2	2
45 Witty		0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	0
46 Sensual		0	2	0	0	1	2	1	3	4	0	0	0
47 Strong		1	2	1	2	1	1	0	8	0	1	5	6
48 Objective		1	3	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	4
49 Industrious		3	5	0	5	0	0	4	1	4	5	3	7
50 Happy go Lucky		2	1	1	0	7	1	3	1	0	3	0	0

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the two groups of subjects in Experiment Two.

Section One:

Humble

Delicate

Stupid

Loyal

Naughty

Sensitive

EXPERIMENT TWO

Religious

Dependable

Tactless

Traditional

Sophisticated

Talkative

Sociable

Affected

Happy

Lazy

Ambitious

Cultured

Neat

Excitable

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the two groups of subjects in Experiment Two.

Section One:

I.

Humble	_____	Proud
Delicate	_____	Rugged
Stupid	_____	Intelligent
Loyal	_____	Disloyal
Haughty	_____	Servile
Sensitive	_____	Insensitive
Religious	_____	Irreligious
Dependable	_____	Undependable
Tenacious	_____	Yielding
Traditional	_____	Modern
Sophisticated	_____	Naive
Talkative	_____	Taciturn
Sociable	_____	Unsociable
Affected	_____	Natural
Happy	_____	Sad
Lazy	_____	Hard working
Ambitious	_____	Unambitious
Cultured	_____	Uncultured
Neat	_____	Slovenly
Excitable	_____	Reserved

2.

Humble Proud

Delicate Rugged

Stupid Intelligent

Loyal Disloyal

Haughty Servile

Sensitive Insensitive

Religious Irreligious

Dependable Undependable

Tenacious Yielding

Traditional Modern

Sophisticated Naive

Talkative Taciturn

Sociable Unsociable

Affected Natural

Happy Sad

Lazy Hard working

Ambitious Unambitious

Cultured Uncultured

Neat Slovenly

Excitable Reserved

Section One:

3.

Humble		Proud
Delicate		Rugged
Stupid		Intelligent
Loyal		Disloyal
Haughty		Servile
Sensitive		Insensitive
Religious		Irreligious
Dependable		Undependable
Tenacious		Yielding
Traditional		Modern
Sophisticated		Naive
Talkative		Taciturn
Sociable		Unsociable
Affected		Natural
Happy		Sad
Lazy		Hard working
Ambitious		Unambitious
Cultured		Uncultured
Neat		Slovenly
Excitable		Reserved

Section One:

4.

Humble		Proud
Delicate		Rugged
Stupid		Intelligent
Loyal		Disloyal
Haughty		Servile
Sensitive		Insensitive
Religious		Irreligious
Dependable		Undependable
Tenacious		Yielding
Traditional		Modern
Sophisticated		Naive
Talkative		Taciturn
Sociable		Unsociable
Affected		Natural
Happy		Sad
Lazy		Hard working
Ambitious		Unambitious
Cultured		Uncultured
Neat		Slovenly
Excitable		Reserved

Section Two:
Section Two:

I.

Cultured	_____	Uncultured
Staid	_____	Eccentric
Attractive	_____	Unattractive
Dependable	_____	Undependable
Neat	_____	Slovenly
Humble	_____	Proud
Excitable	_____	Reserved
Stupid	_____	Intelligent
Stable	_____	Changable
Sensitive	_____	Insensitive
Naive	_____	Sophisticated
Greedy	_____	Generous
Artistic	_____	Unartistic
Follower	_____	Leader
Happy	_____	Sad
Lazy	_____	Hard working
Precise	_____	Imprecise
Tenacious	_____	Yielding
Pleasant	_____	Unpleasant
Loyal	_____	Disloyal

Section Two:

2.

Cultured		Uncultured
Staid		Eccentric
Attractive		Unattractive
Dependable		Undependable
Neat		Slovenly
Humble		Proud
Excitable		Reserved
Stupid		Intelligent
Stable		Changable
Sensitive		Insensitive
Naive		Sophisticated
Greedy		Generous
Artistic		Unartistic
Follower		Leader
Happy		Sad
Lazy		Hard working
Precise		Imprecise
Tenacious		Yielding
Pleasant		Unpleasant
Loyal		Disloyal

Section Two:

3.

Cultured	_____	Uncultured
Staid	_____	Eccentric
Attractive	_____	Unattractive
Dependable	_____	Undependable
Neat	_____	Slovenly
Humble	_____	Proud
Excitable	_____	Reserved
Stupid	_____	Intelligent
Stable	_____	Changable
Sensitive	_____	Insensitive
Naive	_____	Sophisticated
Greedy	_____	Generous
Artistic	_____	Unartistic
Follower	_____	Leader
Happy	_____	Sad
Lazy	_____	Hard working
Precise	_____	Imprecise
Tenacious	_____	Yielding
Pleasant	_____	Unpleasant
Loyal	_____	Disloyal

Section Two:

4.

Cultured _____ Uncultured

Staid _____ Eccentric

Attractive _____ Unattractive

Dependable _____ Undependable

Neat _____ Slovenly

Humble _____ Proud

Excitable _____ Reserved

Stupid _____ Intelligent

Stable _____ Changable

Sensitive _____ Insensitive

Naive _____ Sophisticated

Greedy _____ Generous

Artistic _____ Unartistic

Follower _____ Leader

Happy _____ Sad

Lazy _____ Hard working

Precise _____ Imprecise

Tenacious _____ Yielding

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Loyal _____ Disloyal

Section Three:

EMMA

Old Fashioned	_____	Modern
Greedy	_____	Generous
Attractive	_____	Unattractive
Intelligent	_____	Stupid
Cautious	_____	Adventurous
Ambitious	_____	Unambitious
Pleasant	_____	Unpleasant
Talkative	_____	Taciturn
Religious	_____	Irreligious
Gregarious	_____	Loner
Happy	_____	Sad
Belligerent	_____	Peace Loving
Sophisticated	_____	Naive
Follower	_____	Leader
Stable	_____	Changable
Delicate	_____	Rugged
Hospitable	_____	Inhospitable
Reliable	_____	Unreliable
Affected	_____	Natural
Sociable	_____	Unsociable

Section Three:

BRENDA

Old Fashioned _____ Modern

Greedy _____ Generous

Attractive _____ Unattractive

Intelligent _____ Stupid

Cautious _____ Adventurous.

Ambitious _____ Unambitious

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Talkative _____ Taciturn

Religious _____ Irreligious

Gregarious _____ Loner

Happy _____ Sad

Belligerent _____ Peace Loving

Sophisticated _____ Naive

Follower _____ Leader

Stable _____ Changable

Delicate _____ Rugged

Hospitable _____ Inhospitable

Reliable _____ Unreliable

Affected _____ Natural

Sociable _____ Unsociable

Section Three:

SIMON

Old Fashioned _____ Modern

Greedy _____ Generous

Attractive _____ Unattractive

Intelligent _____ Stupid

Cautious _____ Adventurous

Ambitious _____ Unambitious

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Talkative _____ Taciturn

Religious _____ Irreligious

Gregarious _____ Loner

Happy _____ Sad

Belligerent _____ Peace Loving

Sophisticated _____ Naive

Follower _____ Leader

Stable _____ Changable

Delicate _____ Rugged

Hospitable _____ Inhospitable

Reliable _____ Unreliable

Affected _____ Natural

Sociable _____ Unsociable

Section Three:

TERRY

Old Fashioned _____ Modern
 Greedy _____ Generous
 Attractive _____ Unattractive
 Intelligent _____ Stupid
 Cautious _____ Adventurous
 Ambitious _____ Unambitious
 Pleasant _____ Unpleasant
 Talkative _____ Taciturn
 Religious _____ Irreligious
 Gregarious _____ Loner
 Happy _____ Sad
 Belligerent _____ Peace Loving
 Sophisticated _____ Naive
 Follower _____ Leader
 Stable _____ Changable
 Delicate _____ Rugged
 Hospitable _____ Inhospitable
 Reliable _____ Unreliable
 Affected _____ Natural
 Sociable _____ Unsociable

Section Four:

TRAIN GUARD

Staid _____ Eccentric

Good _____ Bad

Strong _____ Weak

Rugged _____ Delicate

Just _____ Unjust

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Easy _____ Difficult

Favourable _____ Unfavourable

Dependable _____ Undependable

Precise _____ Imprecise

Adventurous _____ Unadventurous

Active _____ Passive

Sophisticated _____ Naive

Tenacious _____ Yielding

Honest _____ Dishonest

Conservative _____ Liberal

Cultured _____ Uncultured

Stable _____ Changable

Colourful _____ Colourless

Kind _____ Unkind

NURSE

Staid _____ Eccentric

Good _____ Bad

Strong _____ Weak

Rugged _____ Delicate

Just _____ Unjust

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Easy _____ Difficult

Favourable _____ Unfavourable

Dependable _____ Undependable

Precise _____ Imprecise

Adventurous _____ Unadventurous

Active _____ Passive

Sophisticated _____ Naive

Tenacious _____ Yielding

Honest _____ Dishonest

Conservative _____ Liberal

Cultured _____ Uncultured

Stable _____ Changable

Colourful _____ Colourless

Kind _____ Unkind

Section Four:

MODEL

Staid	_____	Eccentric
Good	_____	Bad
Strong	_____	Weak
Rugged	_____	Delicate
Just	_____	Unjust
Pleasant	_____	Unpleasant
Easy	_____	Difficult
Favourable	_____	Unfavourable
Dependable	_____	Undependable
Precise	_____	Imprecise
Adventurous	_____	Unadventurous
Active	_____	Passive
Sophisticated	_____	Naive
Tenacious	_____	Yielding
Honest	_____	Dishonest
Conservative	_____	Liberal
Cultured	_____	Uncultured
Stable	_____	Changable
Colourful	_____	Colourless
Kind	_____	Unkind

RACIAL CATEGORIES

	COLOURED MALE							WHITE MALE							COLOURED FEMALE							WHITE FEMALE							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Humble/ Proud	8	5	5	0	13	6	5	1	3	12	9	11	4	2	0	1	10	12	9	10	0	1	3	7	13	10	8	0	
Delicate/ Rugged	2	2	6	10	14	7	1	2	3	1	7	12	10	7	9	7	11	9	6	0	0	12	7	5	10	4	3	1	
Stupid/ Intelligent	0	6	11	12	9	2	2	10	8	6	10	5	3	0	0	15	9	7	6	3	2	2	8	5	8	6	3	10	
Loyal / Disloyal	1	0	8	9	10	11	3	8	10	12	10	2	0	0	12	2	10	10	8	0	0	13	3	9	8	4	5	0	
Haughty /Servile	14	9	7	2	1	9	0	1	6	18	12	1	4	0	8	1	9	10	1	1	12	2	10	17	11	1	0	1	
Sensitive / Insensitive	1	4	6	10	10	7	5	3	6	1	23	2	2	5	4	11	11	8	5	3	0	17	4	1	19	1	0	0	
Religious/Ireeligious	6	6	3	21	1	5	0	4	8	10	6	14	0	0	4	11	8	5	3	0	7	10	13	5	5	1	1		
Dependable/ Undep.1	0	13	4	7	10	3	5	11	0	7	13	9	0	2	14	3	7	6	6	0	0	2	2	18	13	6	0	1	
Tenacious/ Yielding .	2	3	2	10	14	2	9	0	7	8	16	5	6	0	0	0	3	7	12	20	0	6	12	2	10	3	4	5	
Traditional/ Modern	4	6	4	10	12	4	2	6	4	7	13	4	6	2	0	13	6	7	5	11	0	4	13	13	2	5	4	1	
Sophisticated/ Naive	2	2	2	12	8	14	0	6	4	6	4	14	6	2	4	4	7	16	9	1	1	3	9	20	10	0	0		
Talkative/Tacitun	4	6	4	11	8	7	2	0	8	5	11	13	0	5	3	9	12	14	1	3	0	6	6	6	7	7	3	7	
Sociable/ Unsociable	1	3	13	8	12	5	0	1	3	12	14	2	6	4	11	13	8	10	0	0	0	8	7	3	12	3	9	0	
Affected/ Natural	0	4	8	11	7	12	0	1	3	3	2	11	9	13	1	6	0	15	13	4	3	1	1	12	12	9	6	1	
Happy/ Sad	8	8	9	8	6	1	2	0	1	9	10	12	5	5	14	20	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	15	9	0	0
Lazy/H. working	2	2	10	11	5	7	5	4	10	4	10	12	1	1	7	11	3	16	1	4	0	0	0	6	13	14	8	1	
Ambitious/ Unamb.s	6	3	9	8	10	5	1	2	10	9	7	4	3	7	0	15	6	11	10	0	0	8	8	7	10	7	2	0	
Cultured /Uncultur.	0	2	2	9	11	12	6	11	3	1	15	5	7	0	6	6	8	10	10	1	1	1	13	13	5	10	0	0	
Neat /Slovenly	1	2	5	13	9	9	1	14	6	7	13	1	0	1	14	6	6	3	7	7	5	0	13	14	2	10	3	0	0
Excitable/ Reserved	1	9	0	8	8	13	3	2	4	2	10	14	10	0	6	9	10	5	0	11	1	1	1	9	13	0	17	1	

Raw data, grouped according to frequency of endorsement of the 7 scalar positions, produced by the subjects in experiment two: (group one subjects)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

	POLICEMAN							TRAIN GUARD							NURSE							MODEL							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Staid /Eccentric	13	10	7	9	10	2	0	0	9	11	9	13	0	0	3	8	11	15	5	0	0	2	0	5	11	8	10	6	
Good/ Bad	3	11	9	9	5	2	3	2	4	9	9	10	4	4	3	17	10	8	1	2	1	5	6	8	13	7	3	0	
Strong / Weak	18	10	13	1	0	0	0	0	7	8	7	17	1	2	0	17	9	2	0	0	0	0	2	6	13	10	5	0	
Rugged/ Delicate	14	7	9	10	1	0	1	1	6	6	3	18	3	7	1	8	19	6	4	1	1	2	2	10	9	13	4	2	
Just/ Unjust	9	9	7	11	0	6	0	6	3	15	4	7	5	2	6	17	6	3	14	1	0	1	5	3	3	12	3	7	9
Pleasant / Unpleasant	5	10	6	0	8	10	3	2	4	9	11	10	6	0	2	11	8	1	11	6	5	0	0	7	3	18	2	7	5
Easy /Difficult	9	4	9	9	8	3	0	3	5	6	7	8	6	7	3	9	11	6	1	10	3	2	3	4	7	12	10	6	0
Favourable/ Unfav.	3	11	8	8	6	5	1	0	6	3	8	15	10	0	0	14	11	5	8	3	1	0	3	9	9	14	7	0	0
Dependable/ Undep.	14	11	11	6	0	0	0	1	9	0	8	13	10	1	1	20	11	6	5	0	0	0	4	4	8	6	10	0	0
Precise/ Imprecise	10	10	8	4	5	5	0	0	8	4	3	15	8	4	0	14	14	3	7	10	15	4	3	6	3	11	14	4	0
Adventurous/ Unadven.	0	8	4	16	7	7	0	0	0	3	6	13	20	0	0	17	16	4	5	0	0	0	6	13	9	10	4	0	0
Active/ Passive	9	11	14	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	17	2	12	0	17	16	4	5	0	0	0	11	9	13	7	2	0	0
Sophisticated/ Naive	0	0	9	11	11	5	6	6	0	3	0	22	4	10	6	12	9	8	6	5	2	0	7	11	9	9	5	1	0
Tenacious/ Yielding	15	3	4	12	8	0	0	0	0	0	9	17	4	8	4	3	7	8	8	6	5	5	2	6	7	15	8	3	1
Honest/ Dishonest	7	11	10	10	4	0	0	0	8	8	12	11	1	2	0	11	13	9	7	2	0	0	0	0	8	12	12	10	0
Conservative/ Liberal	4	13	11	14	0	0	0	0	7	7	9	19	0	0	0	6	8	5	9	7	5	2	3	11	8	14	6	0	0
Cultured/ Uncultur.	5	3	9	11	8	3	3	3	4	7	4	10	6	11	0	17	11	3	7	2	2	0	0	2	4	11	13	7	5
Stable/ Changable	11	10	8	7	6	0	0	0	8	9	11	13	1	0	0	14	3	9	10	3	3	0	0	2	4	11	13	7	5
Col.ful/ col.less	0	0	0	5	14	11	6	6	0	0	0	23	6	7	6	6	4	11	10	10	1	0	14	8	8	6	6	0	0
Kind/ Unkind	4	8	9	12	5	4	0	0	5	7	14	13	3	0	0	18	3	4	9	6	2	0	3	3	9	14	3	5	5

Raw data from experiment two continued: (GROUP ONE SUBJECTS)

DRESS STYLE CATEGORIES

	FORMAL FEMALE							CASUAL FEMALE							CASUAL MALE							FORMAL MALE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
Cultured/ Uncultured	14	9	2	11	5	0	2	6	5	8	5	10	6	2	2	1	3	12	8	10	6	7	4	2	10	3	10	9	4		
Staid/ Eccentric	9	2	4	11	8	6	2	12	20	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	14	16	4	0	15	13	9	0	0	0	0		
Attractive/ Unattrac.	17	10	10	1	4	0	0	8	16	14	3	0	0	1	0	6	8	4	7	6	8	3	0	1	8	10	15	7	0		
Dependable/ Undep	5	5	8	12	6	4	2	26	8	5	1	1	1	0	7	5	5	9	8	8	0	0	0	0	9	16	14	3	9		
Neat/ Slovenly	14	0	8	17	3	0	0	6	9	5	10	6	4	2	0	0	8	16	8	5	5	0	0	8	9	13	4	0	0		
Humble/ Proud	8	3	10	16	5	0	0	14	8	3	12	0	0	0	4	0	7	0	11	18	1	1	0	3	12	7	9	1	4		
Excitable/ Reserved	0	0	0	14	6	16	6	6	10	3	14	7	0	2	0	0	0	6	15	8	0	0	0	0	6	13	15	0	0		
Stupid/ Intellig.	0	0	0	9	20	10	1	3	7	11	19	2	0	0	0	0	0	18	17	7	0	0	0	25	10	7	0	0	0		
Stable/ Changable	1	13	2	4	10	8	4	7	11	3	12	4	5	0	14	10	8	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	20	7	0	0	0	
Sensitive/ Insens.	5	11	3	13	6	3	1	12	3	9	10	8	0	0	3	10	8	13	6	5	2	0	0	5	15	10	12	0	0	0	
Naive/ Sophisticated	0	14	7	10	5	6	0	1	9	1	14	8	5	4	17	5	3	15	0	0	0	0	0	18	20	0	4	0	0	0	
Greedy/ Generous	6	5	11	19	0	1	0	0	8	0	13	13	8	0	15	3	15	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	12	15	0	12	
Artistic/ Unartistic	16	14	8	4	0	0	0	0	13	0	20	7	1	1	15	3	15	9	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	3	12	15	0	12	
Follower/ Leader	0	8	7	13	8	6	0	14	5	6	17	0	0	0	6	3	2	18	1	8	4	0	0	0	0	8	20	5	6	3	
Happy/ Sad	0	0	8	19	10	4	0	18	6	5	10	0	2	1	6	14	1	20	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	14	15	5	0	0
Lazy/ H. Working	0	0	0	17	4	17	4	0	13	4	20	0	5	0	16	8	0	21	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	10	2	8	6	
Precise/ Imprecise	1	3	13	14	8	3	0	1	8	15	9	4	4	1	2	3	4	18	5	7	3	0	0	23	7	10	0	0	0	0	
Tenacious/ Yielding	5	8	2	12	5	5	5	0	0	8	14	4	0	3	0	0	18	0	23	1	0	0	0	16	8	0	12	6	0	0	
Pleasant/ Unpleasant	18	14	8	10	0	0	0	17	20	5	0	0	0	0	14	2	2	13	5	5	1	0	0	7	13	0	20	0	0	2	
Loyal/ Disloyal	2	8	10	15	2	4	1	18	5	5	11	1	2	0	2	11	9	12	1	5	5	2	0	18	10	0	2	1	1	1	

Raw data from subjects in Experiment Two continued. (group one subjects)

CHRISTIAN NAME CATEGORIES

	EMMA							BRENDA							SIMON							TERALY						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Old Fash.d / Modern	9	4	11	12	3	1	2	8	0	8	9	5	5	7	6	7	5	7	6	8	3	5	9	4	4	9	5	1
Greedy / Generous	0	1	6	10	6	11	8	3	12	11	5	7	4	0	5	5	11	8	6	5	2	6	5	2	12	10	6	1
Attractive / Unattrac	20	9	9	4	0	0	0	11	8	3	6	4	6	4	0	0	10	17	4	9	3	7	13	5	5	5	6	1
Intellig. / Stupid	4	4	11	8	10	3	2	14	9	6	7	0	6	0	9	13	7	10	3	0	0	0	10	8	18	3	3	0
Cautious / Advent.	2	4	6	12	8	5	5	5	3	9	10	9	5	1	0	9	10	14	9	2	0	12	3	11	7	6	3	0
Happy / Sad	0	3	8	14	7	14	6	11	16	7	4	6	0	0	3	9	9	12	7	1	1	8	8	6	4	5	5	2
Belligerent / Peaceful	0	2	1	10	7	14	6	10	7	9	10	8	4	0	6	5	2	6	9	6	0	10	10	3	18	0	1	0
Sophistic / Naive	11	5	7	9	10	2	4	1	5	3	10	9	5	1	14	7	6	9	6	0	0	3	9	4	9	4	5	1
Follower / Leader	2	15	8	10	2	4	1	1	8	12	4	7	5	5	1	2	15	10	11	3	0	10	10	3	18	0	1	0
Stable / Changable	12	11	12	2	2	3	0	4	7	11	5	9	5	1	1	14	11	8	3	5	0	0	6	12	5	6	10	0
Ambitious / Unamb.	3	5	8	7	12	6	1	6	10	5	12	1	6	2	9	8	12	10	2	1	0	7	9	14	5	6	1	0
Pleasant / Unpleasn.	10	21	5	1	1	3	1	2	10	18	3	8	1	0	12	8	1	8	13	0	2	1	11	14	3	8	5	0
Talkative / Taciturn	8	9	5	13	0	2	0	18	7	10	7	0	0	0	5	8	5	16	3	4	1	6	9	4	17	6	0	0
Religious / Irrelig.	6	11	18	7	0	0	0	6	10	10	10	5	1	0	1	2	15	10	11	3	0	8	9	3	18	3	1	0
Gregarious / Loner	14	3	5	13	2	2	3	4	11	2	5	12	6	0	1	11	14	3	8	5	0	3	9	6	14	5	3	2
Delicate / Rugged	21	15	4	2	0	0	0	17	10	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	20	3	5	0	0	4	7	15	6	5	0
Hospit. / Inhospit.	17	6	0	13	4	1	1	4	15	13	13	0	0	0	18	7	3	10	2	1	0	14	4	7	10	4	0	0
Reliable / Unreliable	5	11	3	16	5	2	0	11	7	10	10	4	0	0	9	6	11	15	1	0	0	10	8	0	13	9	1	1
Affected / Natural	4	9	12	9	2	5	1	0	7	8	13	10	3	1	5	5	11	8	6	5	2	0	0	7	9	10	1	0
Sociable / Unsociable	12	11	6	12	1	0	0	17	15	5	5	0	0	0	26	12	1	0	2	1	0	0	11	15	15	1	4	0

Raw data from subjects in Experiment Two continued. (Group one subjects).

RACIAL CATEGORIES

	COLOURED MALE							WHITE MALE							COLOURED FEMALE							WHITE FEMALE						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Humble / Proud	1	1	2	2	9	27	0	0	3	7	4	15	8	6	6	11	16	3	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	9	20	10
Delicate / Rugged	0	3	1	3	5	21	9	2	9	11	9	10	1	0	1	11	17	4	5	4	0	3	8	12	5	8	6	0
Stupid / Intelligent	1	1	4	5	17	9	5	1	2	4	2	12	15	6	0	10	9	12	10	1	0	3	1	8	6	10	14	0
Loyal / Disloyal	7	13	3	9	3	6	1	7	11	12	5	4	1	2	12	16	11	1	0	2	0	3	17	13	4	4	1	0
Haughty / Servile	4	16	15	4	1	1	1	3	8	10	6	11	2	2	0	1	3	8	14	8	8	11	16	8	5	1	1	0
Sensitive / Insensitive	3	13	12	2	9	3	0	2	7	10	2	10	10	1	9	15	10	2	5	1	0	2	5	9	4	13	8	1
Religious / Irreligious	4	12	8	10	3	4	1	5	10	9	10	2	5	1	17	16	4	4	1	0	0	8	10	13	8	3	0	0
Dependable / Undep.	6	10	9	8	5	3	1	4	11	13	3	9	2	0	6	13	8	2	10	3	0	4	18	6	6	5	3	0
Tenacious / Yielding	12	21	5	2	1	1	0	5	6	12	5	5	8	1	1	3	5	2	12	14	5	9	14	12	5	1	1	0
Traditional / Modern	12	14	8	5	0	2	1	16	11	8	4	2	1	0	9	14	13	3	1	0	0	17	14	16	7	6	1	0
SOPHISTICATED/Naive	4	3	11	9	9	4	2	4	7	12	6	6	5	2	0	1	1	3	10	15	12	6	10	17	2	5	2	0
Talkative / Taciturn	2	3	2	2	10	14	9	1	7	10	1	9	12	2	8	11	6	7	6	2	2	1	7	12	5	14	3	0
Sociable/ Unsoc.	4	0	6	9	10	9	4	1	9	12	2	7	10	1	9	16	9	3	3	0	0	5	12	8	4	5	7	1
Affected/natural	1	2	5	3	9	9	13	3	3	14	6	4	9	6	0	1	3	1	6	16	15	0	4	13	5	16	4	0
Happy / Sad	1	0	9	8	13	8	3	1	13	12	9	11	4	2	4	14	7	1	10	6	0	0	0	4	5	13	18	2
Lazy /H. Working	0	2	2	9	11	12	6	0	2	0	2	8	18	12	0	5	3	3	13	11	7	0	0	4	5	13	18	2
Ambitious /Unamb.	8	10	10	6	5	3	0	13	9	11	2	3	3	1	0	1	2	8	9	14	8	2	19	9	5	4	3	0
Cultured / Uncul.	2	7	11	5	14	2	1	4	17	11	4	3	3	0	0	3	8	10	10	5	6	2	12	17	5	3	3	0
Neat / Slovenly	2	14	12	3	9	2	0	19	13	7	1	2	0	0	4	7	11	7	11	1	1	17	19	4	1	1	0	0
Excitable / Reserved	4	9	7	2	6	10	4	0	1	0	1	9	21	10	0	4	13	13	2	5	4	0	6	6	5	10	9	7

Raw data, grouped according to frequency of endorsement of the 7 scalar positions, produced by the subjects in experiment two.

(GROUP TWO SUBJECTS)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

	POLICEMAN							TRAIN GUARD							NURSE							MODEL						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Staid / Eccentric	18	20	2	2	0	0	0	13	10	9	3	2	4	1	10	7	14	6	1	3	11	2	1	2	5	14	14	4
Good / Bad	11	6	11	6	3	3	2	3	9	18	9	1	0	2	17	8	6	0	0	1	0	0	5	13	11	7	6	0
Strong / Weak	13	16	8	2	3	0	0	1	4	11	5	16	5	0	7	17	9	5	0	4	0	2	5	7	5	10	9	4
Rugged / Delicate	10	12	17	1	2	0	0	6	11	17	4	3	1	0	4	9	4	4	9	9	3	1	4	6	0	7	18	6
Just / Unjust	8	6	11	7	6	1	3	2	6	16	11	4	2	1	11	15	10	3	2	1	0	0	1	6	17	10	6	2
Pleasant / Unpleasant	5	14	11	0	6	3	3	3	10	15	3	9	1	1	13	16	11	1	0	1	0	1	6	14	4	13	3	1
Easy / Difficult	5	5	9	4	9	9	1	6	10	5	6	9	5	1	10	12	12	1	4	2	1	4	2	6	3	16	11	0
Favourable / Unfav.	4	10	9	7	7	2	3	1	9	14	8	7	2	1	13	16	7	2	2	2	0	2	7	10	5	16	2	0
Dependable / Undep.	13	13	7	2	3	2	2	5	7	17	4	5	3	1	23	11	5	0	2	1	0	0	0	4	2	8	21	7
Precise / Imprecise	11	11	13	2	1	3	1	6	5	12	2	10	6	1	18	15	1	2	3	2	1	3	1	7	0	8	19	4
Adventurous / Unadven.	2	5	7	3	9	10	7	0	1	1	3	10	15	12	1	6	15	3	6	7	4	7	13	14	0	3	5	0
Active / Passive	11	14	9	2	3	2	1	1	4	9	3	9	10	6	17	17	3	1	1	3	0	8	14	10	1	6	3	0
Sophisticated / Naive	0	3	4	10	12	9	4	0	1	0	5	11	15	10	0	6	12	9	9	3	3	14	12	5	4	5	2	0
Tenacious / Yielding	15	15	10	2	0	0	0	3	12	11	5	7	4	0	7	13	8	4	6	3	1	8	12	10	1	6	5	0
Honest / Dishonest	9	12	10	2	5	2	2	3	13	12	7	5	1	1	18	15	6	1	2	0	0	0	3	6	10	16	7	0
Conservative / Liberal	18	10	9	3	1	1	0	9	12	9	6	2	3	1	5	6	8	9	7	6	1	1	5	7	4	9	10	6
Cultured / Uncult.	0	2	12	3	14	4	7	0	0	1	2	16	13	11	0	8	15	8	8	2	1	5	5	11	8	6	5	2
Stable / Changeable	13	17	7	0	4	1	0	6	17	11	5	2	1	0	13	13	9	3	0	2	2	0	1	1	1	11	20	8
Col.ful / Col.less	0	1	7	3	12	10	9	1	5	7	3	10	7	9	1	8	18	9	4	2	0	12	17	8	1	1	2	1
Kind / Unkind	5	10	11	8	2	2	4	0	12	15	9	3	3	0	20	16	4	1	0	1	0	0	5	10	8	11	4	4

Raw data from subjects in experiment two continued (Group Two subjects)

CHRISTIAN NAME CATEGORIES

	EMMA							BRENDA							SIMON							TERRY							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Old Fash.d / Modern	4	9	11	1	4	10	3	4	9	13	4	8	3	1	2	1	12	3	9	9	6	7	2	2	10	3	10	9	6
Greedy Generous	0	1	7	5	14	11	4	6	5	8	5	10	6	2	2	5	8	6	10	5	9	1	3	6	5	9	9	1	
Attractive / Unattrac	13	11	10	2	5	1	0	0	7	7	6	12	5	5	5	11	19	3	2	2	0	0	1	5	11	4	17	2	2
Intellig. / Stupid	5	13	10	4	9	1	0	1	2	14	4	10	10	1	4	17	10	2	6	3	0	1	0	7	8	2	11	6	3
Cautious / Advent.	3	15	9	4	3	7	1	4	7	9	4	7	9	2	2	8	11	2	8	9	2	4	0	7	10	5	6	4	0
Happy / Sad	2	11	9	4	8	6	2	1	13	2	4	10	8	4	7	10	15	2	5	3	0	7	7	8	12	6	4	5	1
Belligerent / Peaceful	10	10	17	4	1	0	0	3	8	18	3	8	2	0	4	15	10	2	8	3	0	0	7	8	12	6	4	5	3
Sophistic. / Naive	8	12	9	3	6	4	0	12	10	12	3	3	2	0	4	15	10	2	8	3	0	2	11	17	8	2	2	2	9
Followr / Leader	4	9	12	9	2	5	1	2	9	9	10	3	5	4	4	10	14	5	4	2	2	2	1	2	10	11	3	2	1
Stable / Changable	6	12	11	4	5	4	0	4	9	15	5	4	5	0	5	10	14	5	6	5	0	8	8	15	5	5	6	2	2
Ambitious / Unamb.	3	9	8	6	6	6	4	12	12	11	1	4	2	0	3	13	10	3	6	7	4	2	1	3	9	8	8	2	2
Pleasant / Unpleas.	7	9	9	2	8	7	0	0	5	7	5	11	9	5	7	11	12	3	4	7	4	2	8	10	5	15	6	2	2
Talkative / Taciturn	0	4	3	2	10	12	11	1	1	14	1	8	5	4	2	4	10	5	10	7	4	2	1	3	9	8	8	2	2
Religious / Irreligious	3	9	6	3	10	10	1	11	7	9	6	3	6	0	1	4	5	4	13	12	3	5	4	3	6	2	6	8	5
Gregarious / Loner	5	12	4	3	8	9	1	4	7	6	4	6	13	2	7	12	9	3	7	4	3	3	3	10	6	3	8	4	4
Delicate / Rugged	14	12	7	0	9	0	0	0	5	12	2	15	7	1	2	10	7	8	10	5	0	0	1	4	6	4	10	12	5
Hospit. / Unhospit.e	7	19	13	1	0	2	0	4	15	14	1	6	1	1	1	16	14	2	4	3	2	1	5	10	13	2	6	6	0
Reliable / Unrel.	5	11	13	3	3	6	1	2	5	7	3	12	7	0	3	11	8	5	8	6	1	5	5	6	9	1	12	6	3
Affected / Natural	4	2	10	1	10	12	3	8	3	9	3	10	9	6	2	9	10	3	9	7	2	1	1	6	7	8	11	8	6
Sociable / Unsoc.	8	15	14	2	2	1	0	2	8	15	13	3	2	0	1	15	11	3	2	7	3	7	18	10	7	2	4	1	0

Raw dat from subjects in experiment two continued. (Group two subjects).

DRESS STYLE CATEGORIES

	FORMAL FEMALE							CASUAL FEMALE							CASUAL MALE							FORMAL MALE							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Cultured / Uncul.	15	18	4	1	1	2	1	3	4	19	3	12	1	0	0	6	12	13	0	6	3	0	8	12	13	0	6	3	0
Staid / Eccentric	3	4	11	9	4	0	0	2	9	10	6	11	4	0	0	2	1	3	0	2	1	0	26	12	1	0	2	1	0
Attractive / Unattr.	26	15	1	0	0	0	0	1	19	17	1	4	0	0	1	7	13	4	7	7	3	0	1	7	6	9	6	13	
Dependable / Undep.	2	7	11	6	14	1	1	3	12	14	5	5	2	1	1	3	6	1	12	10	9	12	16	6	3	1	3	1	
Neat / Slovenly	28	10	3	0	1	0	0	6	16	14	4	2	0	0	0	1	1	5	12	18	5	24	16	1	0	1	0	0	
Humble / Proud	0	3	4	5	16	10	4	0	3	2	12	16	8	1	0	0	4	2	8	19	9	0	3	4	5	11	14	5	
Excitable / Reserved	0	0	6	2	12	18	1	9	12	12	1	5	2	1	8	20	8	1	3	2	0	1	0	2	0	9	10	20	
Stupid / Intellig	0	0	2	0	15	19	6	0	3	10	0	17	10	2	0	2	8	7	11	10	4	4	2	5	2	11	12	6	
Stable / Changable	3	8	7	5	12	5	2	1	10	5	4	12	6	2	1	3	0	3	7	21	7	26	8	5	1	1	1	0	
Sensitive / INSens.	10	21	5	1	1	3	1	2	10	18	3	8	1	0	1	11	14	3	8	5	0	1	2	4	3	17	12	3	
Naive / Sophisticated	0	1	3	0	8	20	10	0	3	13	4	11	9	2	0	4	9	3	18	8	0	2	5	2	2	14	12	5	
Greedy / Generous	1	4	4	7	13	13	0	0	3	6	3	13	13	4	1	8	12	4	7	5	0	3	9	13	9	7	1	0	
Artistic / Unartistic	14	17	7	1	1	2	0	0	4	12	4	13	5	4	4	12	17	3	1	5	0	0	1	2	1	9	12	17	
Followers / Leader	3	5	8	7	12	6	1	6	10	5	1	12	6	2	4	0	3	4	6	14	5	6	13	3	1	5	12	2	
Happy / Sad	1	14	13	3	8	3	0	20	13	6	2	0	1	0	6	12	13	6	5	0	0	1	2	15	10	11	3	0	
Lazy / H. Working	1	1	9	14	7	10	0	0	4	3	5	12	16	2	6	14	10	4	4	2	2	1	1	0	1	11	20	8	
Precise / Imprecise	12	11	12	2	2	3	0	1	8	9	4	15	4	1	1	0	0	5	4	17	5	19	13	3	2	3	1	1	
Tenacious / Yielding	4	7	11	5	9	5	1	1	7	11	6	10	6	1	6	5	9	4	4	4	0	9	20	4	2	5	2	0	
Pleasant / Unpleasant	9	18	12	0	2	1	0	12	14	12	2	2	0	0	7	9	14	5	6	1	0	0	6	16	5	11	2	2	
Loyal Disloyal	2	15	8	10	2	4	1	5	11	18	5	2	1	0	1	2	12	6	9	11	1	14	14	9	1	3	0	1	

Raw data from subjects in experiment two continued. (Group two subjects)

The Brian Little T/P test; presented to subjects in Experiment 2.

"In this questionnaire, there are a series of questions about how much you like to be in certain situations, where you might be doing the things listed below. Use the following scale, and place the appropriate number in the space next to the sentence. Try and use the full range of the scale (i.e. from 0 - 4), if you possibly can."

0	1	2	3	4
Not at all	Slightly	Moderately so	Quite a lot	Extremely so

1. Join in and help out a disorganized children's game at a public park. _____
2. Take upon yourself the building of a stereo set or ham radio. _____
3. Interview people for employment in a hospital. _____
4. Explore the ocean floor in a one-man submarine. _____
5. Process computer cards in a large industrial centre. _____
6. Breed rare forms of tropical fish. _____
7. Climb a mountain on your own. _____
8. Stop to watch a piece of machinery at work in the street. _____
9. Listen in on a conversation between two people in a crowd. _____
10. Become proficient in the art of glass blowing. _____
11. Interview people for a newspaper column. _____
12. Remove the back of a mechanical toy to find out how it works. _____
13. Strike up a conversation with a beggar on a street corner. _____
14. Attempt to fix your own watch, toaster etc. _____
15. Observe the path of a comet through a telescope. _____
16. Listen with empathic interest to an old-timer who sits next to you on a bus. _____
17. Note the idiosyncracies of people around you. _____
18. Make the first attempts to get to know a new neighbour. _____
19. Attend an address given by a person whose character you admire without being aware of the topic of the address. _____
20. Attempt to comfort a total stranger who has just met with tragedy. _____
21. Do sky-diving. _____
22. Gain a reputation for giving good advice for personal problems. _____
23. Make a hobby of photographing nature scenes and developing and printing the pictures yourself. _____
24. Help a group of children plan a Hallowe'en or Guy Fawkes party. _____

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the thirty eight subjects in the free adjective production section of Experiment Three.

"Instructions"

On the following pages, you will see brief descriptions of certain people. Below each description are questions concerning their personality and behaviour. Will you feel in what you feel are the appropriate answers to these questions. Your answers need not be long and involved, what really is required is the general feeling that you get about these people from reading the personality descriptions. Work as quickly as you can and do not alter your answers after having written them down.

1. Mr Smith, before he left to catch the 8.15 train for the office, put his newspaper in his pocket, picked up his bowler hat and umbrella and said goodbye to his wife.

1. Choose 4 adjectives that you feel describe this person.

1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

2. What do you think this person's MOST likable characteristic is?

EXPERIMENT THREE

3. What do you think this person's LEAST likable characteristic is?

3. She felt that the tailored suit, with the high necked jacket blouse, really suited her, so happily she put on her smart shoes picked up her handbag and left the house.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

1. _____ 2. _____

3. _____ 4. _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

"Instructions"

On the following pages, you will see brief descriptions of certain people. Below each description are questions concerning their personality and behaviour. Will you feel in what you feel are the appropriate answers to these questions. Your answers need not be long and involved, what really is required is the general feeling that you get about these people from reading the personality descriptions. Work as quickly as you can and do not alter your answers after having written them down.

A. Mr Smith, before he left to catch the 8.15 train for the office, put his newspaper in his brief case, picked up his bowler hat and umbrella and said goodbye to his wife.

1. Choose 4 adjectives that you feel describe this person.

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. What do you think this person's MOST likeable characteristic is?

3. What do you think this person's LEAST likeable characteristic is?

B. She felt that the tailored suit, with the high necked ruffled blouse, really suited her, so happily she put on her court shoes picked up her handbag and left the house.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable Characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

..... SEE OVER.....

- C. As he stood in the pouring rain directing the traffic, once again the policeman said a mental thank you, for the long heavy overcoat that he was wearing.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____

ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- D. Margaret decided that it was time to get some new make-up, and so she and some of her friends, went to one of the new boutiques that specialized in 'Black is beautiful' cosmetics.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____

ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- E. The nurse in her crisp dark-blue uniform, entered the hospital and made her way to the ward. As she passed, the patients nodded and smiled their good mornings to her.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____

ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- F. Jane tucked the blouse into her trousers, thinking that if she didn't hurry she would be late. Pushing her belongings into a basket and tying a scarf around her head, she hurried away.

1. Choose 4 adjectives :

i _____ iii _____

ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- G. This was the fifth dress that she had worn that morning, and the model felt that photographic sessions were exciting but tiring. However she once again took up her position in front of the camera.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- H. John had decided that jeans and a tee shirt were the clothes that he felt most comfortable in, and these he wore most frequently. As he strode through the park in his gym shoes and anorak, he felt very content.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

I _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- I. The train guard pressed the button to open the tube doors as the train stopped at the station. Passengers crowded on and when they were all in, he pressed the 'doors closing' button and signalled the train to start. Then he sat down and waited for the next station.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- J. Mrs Harris donned her coat and picked up her shopping bag, ready to do her weekly shopping. As she walked down the street she reminded herself to ring her sister when she got home.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- K. Nat watched the boats sail down the river as he idly traced the scarification marks on his cheeks with his fingers. He remembered that he would have to hurry to get the air mail letters from the post-office before it shut.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

- L. Frank pushed his spectacles further up onto his nose and decided to close the garage for the night. A quick drink at the pub and then home for supper; with these thoughts he went to lock the doors for the night.

1. Choose 4 adjectives:

i _____ iii _____
ii _____ iv _____

2. MOST likable characteristic _____

3. LEAST likable characteristic _____

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the twenty subjects who made 'objective judgements' in experiment three.

Instructions.

"On the following pages you will see brief descriptions of various individuals. Beneath these descriptive sentences are adjectives which may be applicable to the subject of the description. What you are required to do is this: Being as objective as you can, award each adjective a position on the following scale.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
All people	Majority of people	Many People	Some people	Few People	Minimum of people	No one

i.e. if you award position 7, you indicate that you feel All people would judge this adjective as being applicable to the description.

OR

if you award position 4, you indicate that you feel SOME people would judge this adjective as being applicable to the description.

Work as quickly as you can , and try not to omit any of the adjectives."

Mr Smith before he left to catch the 8.15 train to the office, put his newspaper in his brief case, picked up his bowler hat and umbrella and said goodbye to his wife.

Average

Dull

Efficient

Conventional

Reliable

Precise

Habitual

Methodical

Hard working

Conscientious

Unimpulsive

Considerate

Confident

Reserved

Insignificant

Unemotional

Practical

Monotonous

Dependable

Loyal

Middle aged

Middle Class

Predictable

Tidy

Unimaginative

She felt that the tailored suit, with the high-necked ruffled blouse really suited her; so happily she put on her court shoes, picked up her handbag and left the house.

Smart

Conservative

Gay

Self Conscious

Confident

Cool

Polite

Smug

Prim

Independent

Conceited

Traditional

Neat

Pretty

Sociable

Self Centred

Delicate

Vain

Happy

Efficient

Carefree

Extrovert

Snobbish

Socially

aware

Talkative

Unadventurous

As he stood in the pouring rain directing the traffic, once again the policeman said a mental thank you for the long heavy overcoat that he was wearing.

Officious

Reliable

Dreamer

Uncomplaining

Humble

Patient

Sincere

Stable

Strong

Persevering

Helpful

Kind

Friendly

Accepting

Homely

Dutiful

Self-

Controlled

Boring

Confident

Efficient

Happy

Intelligent

Loyal

Practical

Public spirited

Solid

Warm hearted

Margaret decided that it was time to get some new make-up; so she and some of her friends, went to one of the new boutiques that specialized in 'B lack is beautiful' cosmetics.

Egotistical

Extrovert

Friendly

Attractive

Prejudiced

Aimiable

Trendy

Lively

Self Concious

Vain

Impetuous

Happy

Flippant

Radical

Unintelligent

Uninteresting

Thoughtless

Supercilious

Adventurous

Moody

Patient

Self Important

Unoriginal

The Nurse in her crisp dark-blue uniform, entered the hospital and made her way to the ward. As she passed, patients nodded and smiled their 'good mornings' to her.

Dedicated

Polite

Friendly

Arrogant

Likable

Calm

Authoratative

Concerned

Attractive

Happy

Cheerful

Patient

Immaculate

Pleasant

Reserved

Practical

Brusque

Proud

Precise

Respectable

Reliable

Young

Efficient

Cool

Caring

Smug

Well groomed

Confident

Kind

Busy

Jane tucked the blouse into her trousers thinking that if she didn't hurry she would be late. Pushing her belongings into a basket and tying a scarf around her head, she hurried away.

Forgetful

Active

Friendly

Scatter brained

Hurried

Disorganized

Sensible

Go ahead

Nervous

Untidy

Casual

Uncaring

Listless

Normal

Confident

Busy

Trendy

Highly Strung

Homely

Impulsive

Kind

Open

Outspoken

Unreliable

Young

This was the fifth dress that she had worn that morning, and the model felt that photographic sessions were exciting but tiring. However she once again took up her position in front of the camera.

Hard working

Volatile

Glamorous

Determined

Malicious

Lively

Stupid

Beautiful

Devious

Persevering

Patient

Young

Egotistical

Ambitious

Disillusioned

Aloof

Independent

Confident

Vain

Reliable

Enthusiastic

Graceful

Impressionable

Intresting

Mercenary

Busy

John felt that jeans and a tee shirt were the clothes that he felt most comfortable in and these he wore most frequently. As he strode through the park in his gym shoes and anorak, he felt very content.

Friendly

Ambitionless

Self assured

Carefree

Unassuming

Smug

Scruffy

Lively

Egotistical

Unconventional

Easy going

Individualistic

Confident

Relaxed

Thoughtful

Happy

Indecisive.

Lazy

Practical

Pleasant

Sensible

Unsociable

Undemanding

Young

The train guard pressed the button to open the tube doors as the train pulled into the station. Passengers crowded on and when all were in, he pressed the 'doors closing' button and signalled the train to start. Then he sat down and waited for the next station.

Elderly

Bored

Unambitious

Dependable

Kind

Methodical

Lethargic

Moronic

Ordinary

Low powered

Unintelligent

Honest

Routinized

Quiet

Conscientious

Reliable

Unskilled

Simple

Accepting

Sad

Content

Inhibited

Mechanical

Boring

Petty

Patient

Efficient

Mrs Harris donned her coat and picked up her shopping bag, ready to do her weekly shopping. As she walked down the street, she reminded herself that she must ring her sister when she got home.

Plump	Efficient
Homely	Middle Aged
Average	Middle class
Petty	Fussy
Conformist	Hard working
Friendly	Practical
Kind	Placid
Organized	Straight forward
Routinized	
Contented	
Gossipy	
Boring	
Busy	
Considerate	
Impressionable	
Cheerful	
Dull	

Nat watched the boats sail down the river, as he idly traced the scarification marks on his cheeks with his fingers. He remembered that he would have to hurry to get the air-mail letters from the post office before it shut.

Aggressive

Lazy

Thoughtful

Moody

Tough

Unambitious

Happy go Lucky

Average

Careless

Discontent

Self Conscious

Cosmopolitan

Boring

Interesting

Idealistic

Easy Going

Honest

Shrewd

Adventurous

Child Like

Content

Imaginative

Quiet

Slow

Sociable

Traditional

Frank pushed his spectacles further up onto his nose, and decided to close the garage for the night. A quick drink at the pub and then home for supper; with these thoughts he went to lock the doors for the night.

Home Loving

Paternal

Mercenary

Conventional

Ordinary

Regimented

Self Opinionated

Careful

Honest

Friendly

Dull

Casual

Content

Staid

Petty

Unambitious

Weak

Tolerant

Thoughtful

Simple

Peaceful

Practical

Hard working

Adjectives produced by the thirty eight subjects in Experiment Three (part one), grouped synonymously.

(The adjective in capital letters at the begining of each group of adjectives, is the one which was included as part of the 'objective judgement' questionnaire.)

Description One

FORMAL MALE

CONSCIENTIOUS	9	MONOTONOUS	2
Dutiful	1	Mundane	1
DULL	9	UNEMOTIONAL	2
Banal	1	Lack. Feeling	1
CONVENTIONAL	7	Unloving	1
Conservative	5		
Conforming	2	CONFIDENT	1
METHODICAL	7	Secure	1
Meticulous	1	INSIGNIFICANT	1
Particular	1	Nondescript	1
Propriety	1		
RELIABLE	7	HARD WORKING	1
Responsible	1	Harrassed	1
		Over worked	1
EFFICIENT	6	PRACTICAL	1
Businesslike	2	Useful	1
Orderly	2		
Organized	1	RESERVED	1
HABITUAL	5	Self Concious	1
Regimented	4	UNIMPULSIVE	1
Regular	3	Non impulsive	1
Routinized	1		
AVERAGE	4		
Mundane	1		
Ordinary	3		
Typical	1		
PRECISE	4		
Correct	1		
Pedantic	1		
Punctilious	1		
CONSIDERATE	3		
Thoughtful	2		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 33

Of these 33 adjectives, those produced by more than one subject = 7 :-

Dependable (4) ; Loyal (2) ; Middle Aged (3) ; Middle Class (4) ; Predictable (2) ; Tidy (2) ; Unimaginative (3).

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued :Description TwoFORMAL FEMALE

SMART	12	SELF CENTRED	2
Sophisticated	2	Self Caring	1
Chic	5	SELF SATISFIED	2
Elegant	1	Egocentric	1
VAIN	10	PRETTY	2
Frivolous	1	Attractive	1
Futile	1	PRIM	2
CONFIDENT	6	Prissy	1
Self Assured	2	TRADITIONAL	2
Self Aware	2	Old Fashioned	2
Self Confident	2	Staid	1
HAPPY	5	Stuffy	1
Content	2	CONSERVATIVE	1
Cheerful	1	Conventional	1
Pleasant	1	DELICATE	1
SELF CONCIIOUS	5	Sensitive	1
Affected	1	EFFICIENT	1
COOL	4	Businesslike	1
Unfeeling	1	Organized	1
NEAT	4	INDEPENDENT	1
Fastidious	1	Individualistic	1
Meticulous	2	POLITE	1
Over precise	1	Good Mannered	1
Particular	1	Refined	1
Proper	1		
Precise	3		
GAY	3		
Alert	1		
Lively	2		
Vivacious	1		
SOCIABLE	3		
Friendly	1		
CONCEITED	2		
Arrogant	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 38

Of these 38 adjectives, those produced by more than one subject = 6 :-

Carefree (2) ; Extrovert (2) ; Snobbish (2); Socially Aware (2); Talkative (2); Unadventurous (2)

Synonymously Grouped Adjectives continued:Description ThreePOLICEMAN

RELIABLE	14	SINCERE	3
Dependable	4	Honest	1
Over- dep.l	1	Trustworthy	1
OFFICIOUS	9	HUMBLE	2
Authoratative	2	Servile	1
Bossy	2	Subservient	1
DUTIFUL	8	ACCEPTING	1
Conscientious	5	Unquestioning	1
Dedicated	2	HOMELY	1
PATIENT	7	Comfort loving	1
Long suffering	2	SELF CONTROLLED†	
HELPFUL	5	Placid	1
Attentive	1	STRONG	1
Considerate	1	Hardy	1
KIND	4	Sturdy	1
Thoughtful	1		
Unselfish	1		
STABLE	4		
Steady	3		
Stolid	3		
UNCOMPLAINING	4		
Resigned	1		
DREAMER	3		
Detached	2		
Inattentive	1		
FRIENDLY	3		
Convivial	1		
Likeable	1		
PERSEVERING	3		
Tenacious	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 26

Of these 26 adjectives, those produced by more than one subject = 10

Boring (2) ; Confident (2) ; Efficient (2) ; Happy (3) ; Intelligent (2) ;

Loyal (3) ; Practical (2) ; Public Spiritied (2) ; Solid (3) ; Warm Hearted (2) .

Synonymously Grouped Adjectives continued:Description FourCOLOURED FEMALE

FRIENDLY	16	UNINTERESTING	2
Gregarious	7	Boring	2
Sociable	14	AIMIABLE	1
TRENDY	14	Easy Going	1
Fashionable	7	ATTRACTIVE	1
Modish	1	Pretty	1
Smart	2	IMPETUOUS	1
VAIN	8	Impulsive	1
Self Centred	1	Spontaneous	1
LIVELY	5	PREJUDICED	1
Energetic	2	Colour Concious	1
SELF CONCIIOUS	5	RADICAL	1
Insecure	4	Non conformist	1
EGOTISTICAL	2	UNINTELLIGENT	1
Egocentric	1	Stupid	1
EXTROVERT	2		
Flamboyant	2		
Showy	1		
Uninhibited	1		
SUPERCILIOUS	2		
Superior	1		
THOUGHTLESS	2		
Uninquiring	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 35

Of these 35 adjectives, those produced more than once = 5

Adventurous (2) ; Moody (2) ; Patient (3) ; Self Important (2) ; Unoriginal (2).

Description FiveNURSE

EFFICIENT	15	PRECISE	2
Brisk	2	Particular	1
Competent	3	Prim	1
Organized	2	Over conscientious	1
FRIENDLY	11	RESERVED	2
Aimicable	1	Quiet	1
Sociable	1	ATTRACTIVE	1
CONFIDENT	5	Pretty	1
Over confident	1	BRUSQUE	1
Self Confident	1	Short tempered	1
KIND	5	BUSY	1
Good	1	Diligent	1
Thoughtful	2	POLITE	1
Warm Hearted	2	Respectful	1
RELIABLE	5	SMUG	1
Trustworthy	1	Self Satisfied	1
CARING	3	WELL GROOMED	1
Compassionate	1	Well dressed	1
CHEERFUL	3		
Happy	2		
DEDICATED	3		
Conscientious	2		
Dutiful	2		
Thorough	2		
AUTHORITATIVE	2		
Bossy	2		
Officious	2		
Self Assertive	1		
COOL	2		
Distant	1		
Formal	1		
IMMACULATE	2		
Neat	1		
Smart	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 31

Of these 31 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 10

Arrogant (2) ; Calm (3) ; Concerned (2) ; Happy (2) ; Patient (2) ; Pleasant(2);
Practical (2); Proud (2); Respectable (2) ; Young (2) ; Likable (2)

Synonymously grouped adjectives:Description SixCASUAL FEMALE

UNTIDY	19	BUSY	1
Scruffy	2	Bustling	1
Sloppy	1	CONFIDENT	2
Slovenly	1	Unselfconscious	1
DISORGANIZED	16	GO AHEAD	2
Careless	2	Drive	1
Inefficient	3	Motivated	1
Inept	1	NERVOUS	2
Unmethodical	1	Worried	1
FRIENDLY	13	Anxious	1
Affectionate	1	NORMAL	2
Approachable	2	Ordinary	1
Pleasant	2	TRENDY	1
CASUAL	6	Unconventional	1
Breezy	1	LISTLESS	1
Easy Going	5	Low powered	1
Lackadaisical	1	UNCARING	1
SCATTER BRAIN	6	Inconsiderate	1
Carefree	1		
Happy go Lucky	1		
Informal	2		
Slap dash	1		
SENSIBLE	5		
Down to Earth	1		
Level Headed	1		
HURRIED	4		
Harassed	1		
Confused	1		
Flustered	3		
Rushed	3		
FORGETFUL	3		
Absentminded	1		
ACTIVE	2		
Energetic	2		
Lively	1		
Spontaneous	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 32

Of these 32 adjectives, those that received more than one judgement = 9

Highly strung(2); Homely (2) ; Impulsive (3); Kind (2); Open (2);
Outspoken (2); Unreliable (7) ; Young (6)

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:Description SevenMODEL

HARD WORKING	13	DETERMINED	2
Conscientious	3	Self Asserting	1
Dedicated	1	Strong Willed	1
PERSEVERING	8	EGOTIST	2
Persistent	2	Self Obsessed	1
AMBITIOUS	6	STUPID	2
Career Minded	1	Dumb	1
PATIENT	5	Empty headed	1
Long suffering	1	Unintelligent	1
Uncomplaining	1	ALCOOF	1
YOUNG	5	Impersonal	1
Immature	2	DEVIOUS	1
GLAMOROUS	4	False	1
Elegant	1	DISILLUSIONED	1
Smart	2	Cynical	1
LIVELY	4	INDEPENDENT	1
Energetic	1	Self sufficient	1
Extravert	2	VOLATILE	1
Gay	2	Excitable	1
BEAUTIFUL	3	Restless	1
Attractive	2	Unsettled	1
Good Looking	1		
Pretty	1		
CONFIDENT	3		
Self Confident	3		
Over confident	1		
BITCHY	2		
Catty	1		
Malicious	2		
Spiteful	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 46

Of these 46 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 8

Vain (9); Reliable (2) ; Enthuaistic (2); Graceful (2); Impressionable (3)
 Interesting (2) ; Mercenary (3) ; Busy (2)

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:-Description EightCASUAL MALE

FRIENDLY	10	SELF ASSURED	2
Aimiable	2	Self Confident	1
EASY GOING	9	Unself concious	1
Happy go Lucky	3	UNASSUMING	2
AMBITIONLESS	5	Natural	1
Directionless	2	Unpretentious	1
SCRUFFY	5	UNCONVENTIONAL	1
Slovenly	1	Non conformist	1
Tatty	1		
Untidy	5		
INDIVIDUALISTIC	3		
Independent	2		
SMUG	3		
Complacent	1		
Self Satisfied	2		
THOUGHTFUL	3		
Concerned	1		
Kind	1		
CAREFREE	2		
Uncaring	1		
Unconcerned	1		
CONFIDENT	2		
Over confident	1		
EGOTISTICAL	2		
Self Centred	1		
LIVELY	2		
Active	1		
Boisterous	1		
Jaunty	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 47

Of these 47 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 9

Happy (11) ; Indecisive (2) ; Lazy (2) ; Young (3) ; Practical (3) ; Pleasant (3) ; Sensible (4) ; Unsociable (2) ; Undemanding (2)

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 42

Of these 42 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 9

Bored (5) ; Dependable (3) ; Neurotic (2) ; Average (2) ; Low opinion (2) ; Honest (2) ; Quiet (3) ; Reliable (3) ; Stupid (2) ; Bad (1)

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:Description NineTRAIN GUARD

BORING	11
Dull	5
Characterless	1
PATIENT	8
Placid	1
Resigned	1
Uncomplaining	2
EFFICIENT	7
Diligent	1
Helpful	2
CONTENT	6
Cheerful	1
Easily Satisfied	1
Happy	1
CONSCIENTIOUS	4
Careful	1
Cautious	1
Hard working	2
Persevering	1
ACCEPTING	3
Conventional	2
Passive	1
KIND	3
Affable	1
Easy Going	1
Friendly	1
Thoughtful	1
MECHANICAL	3
Conditioned	1
ORDINARY	3
Average	1
Mundane	1
Pedestrian	1
LETHARGIC	2
Inactive	1

PETTY	2
Mean	1
Small Minded	1
Sullen	1
ROUTINIZED	2
Habit Bound	1
Regimented	2
UNAMBITIOUS	2
Ambitionless	1
UNINTELLIGENT	2
Stupid	1
UNSKILLED	2
Skill-less	1
ELDERLY	1
Ageing	1
Old	1
INHIBITED	1
Introverted	1

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 42

Of these 42 adjectives, those that are mentioned more than once = 10

Bored (5); Dependable(3); Methodical (2) ;Moronic (2); Low powered (4);
Honest (2); Quiet (3); Reliable (3); Simple (2); Sad (3).

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:Description TenWHITE FEMALE

FRIENDLY	13	GOSSIPY	2
Hospitable	1	Loquacious	1
Sociable	2	PETTY	2
HOMELY	7	Shallow	1
Family concious	2	Trivial	2
Home Loving	1	Uncomplicated	1
Motherly	5	ROUTINIZED	2
ORGANIZED	7	Habitual	2
Conscientious	4	Regimented	2
Methodical	4	CONSIDERATE	1
Orderly	1	Concerned	1
KIND	6	IMPRESSIONABLE	1
Thoughtful	4	Susceptible	1
Unselfish	1	PLUMP	1
BORING	5	Cuddly	1
Humdrum	1	Dumpy	1
Predictable	2		
Uninteresting	1		
BUSY	5		
Active	1		
Hurried	1		
AVERAGE	3		
Normal	1		
Ordinary	1		
Typical	1		
CONFORMIST	3		
Conventional	2		
Dutiful	1		
Unliberated	1		
CONTENTED	3		
Happy	2		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 36

Of these 36 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 10

Cheerful 3; Dull (2) ; Efficient (4); Fussy (3); Hard working (2); Middle Aged (4); Middle Class (2); Practical (2); Placid (3); Straight forward (3).

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:

Description Eleven

COLOURED MALE

THOUGHTFUL	15	SELF CONCIOUS	2
Pensive	2	Sensitive	1
Wistful	3	Self Absorbed	1
LAZY	7	TOUGH	2
Idle	6	Boisterous	1
Lethargic	2	Forceful	1
Low powered	3	Rough	1
AGGRESSIVE	5	Strong	1
Antagonistic	1	UNAMBITIOUS	2
Hostile	1	Passive	1
Resentful	1	Placid	1
INTERESTING	3	Purposeless	1
Informative	1	AVERAGE	1
CARELESS	2	Normal	1
Carefree	1	BORING	1
Leisurely	1	Dull	1
Relaxed	1	Dreary	1
Unconcerned	1	COSMOPOLITAN	1
EASY GOING	2	Wanderer	1
Casual	1	Widely Travelled	1
HAPPY GO LUCKY	2	DISCONTENT	1
Irresponsible	1	Unhappy	1
HONEST	2	Unsatisfied	1
Open	1	SHREWD	1
IDEALISTIC	2	Intelligent	1
Radical	1		
MOODY	2		
Changable	1		
Ill Tempered	1		
Unstable	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 45

Of these 45 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 8;

Adventurous (4); Child Like (2); Content (3); Imaginative (2); Quiet (2); Slow (3); Sociable (3); Traditional (4).

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:Description TwelveWHITE MALE

FRIENDLY	15	CASUAL	2
Easy going	1	Carefree	1
Pleasant	1	HONEST	2
Sociable	9	Dependable	1
CAREFUL	8	Reliable	1
Cautious	2	Responsible	1
Conscientious	4	MERCENARY	2
Formal	1	Greedy	1
Precise	5	Materialistic	1
Punctilious	2	Mean	1
CONTENT	6	Miserly	1
Happy	1	PETTY	2
Gay	1	Narrow Minded	1
ORDINARY	5	CONVENTIONAL	1
Average	1	Conforming	1
Normal	2	Conservative	1
DULL	4	SELF OPINIONATED	1
Boring	3	Self centred	1
Monotonous	2	Selfish	1
HOMELOVING	3	Smug	1
Domesticated	2		
Husbandly	1		
PATERNAL	3		
Affectionate	1		
Fatherly	3		
REGIMENTED	3		
Habitual	2		
Methodical	1		
Organized	2		
Routinized	1		
STAID	3		
Sober	1		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 43

Of these 43 adjectives, those that were produced more than once = 8
 Unambitious (2); Weak (4); Tolerant (3); Simple (2); Peaceful (3);
 Practical (2); Hard working (5);

Description One										Description Two										Description Three									
Formal Male										Formal Female										Policeman									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Average	0	0	1	2	8	1	Smart	0	0	7	6	4	3	Officious	0	3	4	4	7	2	0	0	3	4	4	7	2	0	
Dull	0	3	4	8	3	2	Conservative	0	0	1	7	7	1	Reliable	0	2	1	1	7	9	0	0	2	1	1	7	9	0	
Efficient	0	5	8	5	1	1	Gay	1	3	6	3	0	0	Dreamer	6	3	5	4	1	1	0	6	3	5	4	1	0		
Conventional	0	0	1	5	8	6	Self Conscious	0	3	3	6	4	1	Uncomplaining	0	0	8	1	4	5	2	0	0	8	1	4	5		
Reliable	0	1	1	12	1	0	Confident	0	0	3	8	4	4	Humble	0	3	3	5	7	2	0	0	3	3	5	7	2		
Precise	0	1	1	4	9	1	Cool	0	1	3	4	5	0	Patient	0	0	1	4	9	5	1	0	0	1	4	9	5		
Habitual	1	0	1	0	2	9	Polite	1	5	5	3	6	0	Sincere	0	1	4	11	3	1	0	0	1	4	11	3	1		
Methodical	0	1	1	1	4	4	Smug	1	1	7	4	0	0	Stable	0	1	1	5	4	9	0	0	1	1	5	4	9		
H. Working	0	0	2	12	3	0	Prim	1	2	5	6	3	0	Strong	0	1	3	6	5	4	1	0	1	3	6	5	4		
Conscientious	0	1	2	12	4	1	Independent	0	0	12	2	2	0	Persev.ing	0	2	1	4	7	6	0	0	2	1	4	7	6		
Unimpulsive	1	3	0	4	4	2	Conceited	0	1	11	7	0	0	Helpful	0	1	0	3	7	9	0	0	1	0	3	7	9		
Considerate	5	1	4	7	1	0	Traditional	0	2	3	11	4	0	Kind	0	2	3	6	5	4	0	0	2	3	6	5	4		
Confident	4	1	6	6	2	1	Neat	0	0	2	9	8	1	Friendly	1	1	4	4	6	4	0	1	1	4	4	6	4		
Reserved	5	1	4	1	2	5	Pretty	0	0	8	6	4	0	Accepting	0	0	1	6	3	7	3	0	0	1	6	3	7		
Insignificant	1	3	3	3	2	0	Sociable	0	0	4	6	4	0	Homely	2	1	0	8	5	4	0	2	1	0	8	5	4		
Unemotional	2	3	2	3	7	3	Self Centred	0	1	9	6	2	0	Dutiful	0	0	0	2	4	14	0	0	0	0	2	4	14		
Practical	1	3	2	9	3	2	Delicate	5	4	5	3	0	0	Self Contr.	0	0	0	4	4	9	3	0	0	0	4	4	9		
Monotonous	0	1	1	3	8	5	Vain	0	1	7	4	2	0	Boring	3	0	2	9	4	1	1	3	0	2	9	4	1		
Dependable	0	0	4	5	4	6	Happy	0	1	1	5	9	2	Confident	0	3	5	4	5	8	0	0	3	5	4	5	8		
Loyal	0	0	4	9	4	3	Efficient	1	5	2	7	4	0	Efficient	0	0	1	3	8	0	0	1	2	4	3	8	0		
Middle aged	0	0	2	5	3	7	Carefree	2	1	1	8	1	0	Happy	1	2	7	4	6	7	0	1	2	4	6	7	0		
Middle Class	0	0	1	2	4	6	Extrovert	1	3	8	0	1	0	Intellig.	3	2	7	2	11	4	0	3	2	7	2	11	4		
Predictable	0	0	0	0	3	13	Snobbish	1	1	8	6	0	0	Loyal	0	1	2	2	11	9	0	0	1	2	2	11	9		
Tidy	1	0	3	2	5	7	Socially aware	2	0	7	4	3	1	Practical	0	0	1	4	6	9	0	0	0	1	4	6	9		
Unimaginative	1	2	1	2	7	7	Talkative	1	3	8	7	0	0	Pub-Sp.	0	1	2	2	3	12	0	0	1	2	2	3	12		
							Unadventurous	0	2	3	6	5	0	Solid	0	0	0	6	6	7	1	0	0	0	6	6	7		
														Warm -h.	0	1	3	8	4	4	0	0	1	3	8	4	4		

Raw data grouped according to frequency of occurrence for each scalar position (i.e. 1 - 7) from the twenty subjects making 'objective' judgements on the adjectives produced by the subjects in the 'free adjective production' experiment.

Description Four							Description Five							Description Six						
Coloured Female							Nurse							Casual Female						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Egotistical	0	2	5	8	4	1	0	0	0	1	2	11	5	0	0	2	11	6	1	0
Extravert	0	0	2	7	5	6	0	0	0	1	4	11	3	0	1	0	0	9	10	0
Friendly	0	3	1	5	7	4	0	0	0	1	4	8	6	0	0	2	3	11	2	2
Attractive	0	2	3	10	4	1	0	0	1	3	4	6	0	0	0	1	6	5	5	3
Prejudiced	1	6	4	3	6	0	0	0	1	1	7	8	0	0	0	0	1	6	7	6
Aimiable	0	1	1	9	7	2	0	0	0	0	8	3	0	0	0	0	4	8	4	4
Trendy	0	0	1	4	7	6	2	0	1	0	4	8	1	0	0	0	11	2	1	0
Lively	0	0	0	2	10	7	1	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	6	5	0	0
Self Concious	1	1	1	1	12	4	0	3	3	4	2	2	0	2	0	3	7	2	1	0
Vain	0	2	4	5	6	2	1	0	1	3	4	7	5	0	0	1	8	7	3	1
Impetuous	0	1	7	6	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	13	0	0	0	3	10	7	0
Happy	0	0	4	9	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	11	0	0	4	8	2	0	0
Flippant	1	3	1	8	5	2	0	0	0	3	2	10	5	0	4	5	2	1	0	0
Radical	3	5	3	3	5	1	0	0	0	1	1	7	8	0	0	1	3	7	0	0
Unintelligent	0	4	1	12	2	1	0	4	5	5	3	1	1	0	0	2	5	10	2	0
Uninteresting	0	5	5	7	3	0	0	1	0	4	2	4	2	0	0	1	2	6	2	0
Thoughtless	0	5	7	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	7	8	1	0	0	6	10	1	3	0
Supercilious	4	4	4	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	2	3	3	3	4	1	0	0
Adventurous	0	1	1	4	12	2	0	0	1	0	2	6	11	0	0	2	4	4	1	0
Moody	2	4	9	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	9	5	1	0	0	3	12	3	1
Patient	3	9	4	4	0	0	0	4	5	4	4	2	1	0	0	0	6	7	4	0
Self-imp.	2	4	3	3	8	0	0	0	2	3	3	7	5	0	0	0	5	7	6	0
Unoriginal	1	3	8	2	1	6	0	0	0	2	1	10	6	0	0	4	8	3	2	0
											5	10	5	0	0	1	7	3	3	4
											2	10	7	1	0	0	3	6	7	4
											1	5	10	3	0	6	7	3	3	7
											4	4	13	0	0	0	7	6	0	0
											3	3	4	0	0	0	3	2	0	0
											1	1	10	3	0	0	0	3	7	4
											1	9	5	1	0	0	0	6	7	4

Raw data from 'objective judges' - experiment three continued.

Description Seven							Description Eight							Description Nine									
Model	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Casual Male	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Train Guard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
H. Working	0	1	0	5	7	6	1	Friendly	0	0	1	5	10	4	0	Elderly	0	2	1	7	6	3	1
Volatile	0	0	3	5	9	3	0	Ambitionless	0	1	4	4	11	0	0	Unambitious	0	2	2	4	5	5	2
Glamorous	0	1	0	1	6	11	1	Self Assured	0	0	3	7	10	0	0	Kind	0	2	2	10	4	2	0
Determined	0	4	2	4	5	5	0	Carefree	0	0	1	4	4	11	0	Lethargic	0	3	4	6	6	1	0
Malicious	4	3	2	8	2	0	1	Unassuming	0	0	1	6	4	9	0	Ordinary	0	0	2	1	11	5	1
Lively	0	3	2	8	2	5	0	Smug	3	4	4	5	3	1	0	Unintelligent	0	1	4	3	8	4	0
Stupid	0	2	2	9	3	4	0	Scruffy	0	2	1	4	8	5	0	Routinized	0	0	0	1	7	10	2
Beautiful	0	0	0	1	8	10	1	Lively	0	0	0	4	13	3	0	Conscientious	0	0	5	2	12	1	0
Devious	3	3	3	7	4	0	0	Egotistical	0	6	2	7	5	0	0	Unskilled	0	1	1	0	10	7	1
Persevering	0	1	3	5	8	3	0	Unconventional	0	1	6	8	3	2	0	Accepting	0	0	0	3	9	7	1
Patient	0	0	3	4	9	4	0	Easy Going	0	0	1	2	3	14	0	Content	0	0	7	10	1	1	
Young	0	0	0	1	2	7	10	Individual	0	1	4	3	5	6	1	Inhibited	0	0	3	7	4	2	
Egotistical	0	0	1	3	9	5	2	Confident	0	2	1	4	13	0	0	Mechanical	0	1	3	3	8	5	
Ambitious	0	0	1	3	3	13	0	Relaxed	0	0	1	1	4	11	3	Boring	0	0	1	7	4	9	
Disillusioned	2	4	6	4	2	2	0	Thoughtful	0	0	3	7	7	3	0	Petty	0	5	3	7	5	0	
Aloof	2	0	2	9	5	1	1	Happy	0	0	1	4	4	6	5	Patient	0	0	3	4	6	7	
Independent	0	0	1	7	10	2	0	Indecisive	3	3	3	9	2	0	0	Efficient	0	0	1	6	9	4	
Confident	0	0	2	3	10	5	0	Lazy	1	6	3	6	3	1	0	Bored	0	1	0	2	6	9	
Vain	0	0	1	6	7	6	0	Practical	0	0	3	8	4	2	0	Dependable	0	0	2	7	6	4	
Reliable	0	0	1	7	8	4	0	Pleasant	0	0	1	4	10	5	0	Methodical	0	1	0	1	7	9	
Enthusiastic	0	0	2	7	6	5	0	Sensible	0	1	0	10	6	3	0	Moronic	1	4	5	4	1	4	
Graceful	0	0	0	2	13	5	0	Unsociable	2	6	6	2	2	0	2	Low-powered	1	0	6	6	3	3	
Impressionable	1	3	5	2	5	4	0	Undemand.g	1	0	4	2	7	5	1	Honest	3	2	2	7	4	2	
Interesting	0	2	5	11	1	1	0	Young	0	0	0	0	0	7	11	Quiet	0	1	4	5	7	3	
Mercenary	2	1	2	8	6	1	0									Reliable	0	2	1	5	6	5	
Busy	0	0	1	3	4	9	3									Simple	0	1	1	7	7	4	
																Sad	0	4	6	8	2	0	

Raw data from 'objective judges' - experiment three continued.

Description Ten										Description Eleven										Description Twelve										
White Female										Coloured Male										White Male										
Plump	0	0	0	5	4	9	2	0	7	Aggressive	0	0	0	2	7	7	3	1	7	Home loving	0	0	0	0	6	10	4	0	0	7
Homely	0	0	0	0	2	11	7	0	0	Lazy	0	0	0	1	4	8	4	1	0	Paternal	0	0	0	0	12	4	0	0	6	
Average	0	0	0	1	1	9	6	3	0	Thoughtful	0	0	0	1	7	5	5	1	0	Mercenary	2	2	0	0	4	4	3	1	4	
Petty	0	0	0	6	5	5	0	0	0	Moody	0	0	0	0	7	5	6	1	0	Conventional	0	1	0	0	3	6	9	1	3	
Conformist	0	0	0	0	2	11	6	0	0	Tough	0	0	0	1	3	6	9	1	0	Ordinary	0	0	0	0	3	4	11	2	4	
Friendly	0	0	0	0	7	8	5	0	1	Unambitious	1	0	5	7	5	2	0	0	0	Regimented	0	4	3	6	9	2	2	0	0	
Kind	0	0	0	0	8	8	4	0	0	Happy go lucky	0	4	3	3	10	0	0	0	0	Self opinionated	3	6	6	3	3	2	0	0	0	
Organized	0	0	0	2	2	7	9	0	2	Average	2	5	6	6	1	0	0	0	0	Careful	1	0	9	2	2	6	2	0	0	
Routinized	0	0	0	1	2	5	10	2	1	Careless	1	3	9	4	2	1	0	0	0	Honest	0	1	4	3	8	4	0	0	0	
Contented	0	0	0	0	6	8	6	0	0	Discontent	0	1	7	4	4	3	1	0	0	Friendly	0	1	1	2	12	4	4	0	0	
Gossipy	0	0	0	2	4	11	3	0	1	Self Conscious	1	4	0	0	8	4	0	0	0	Dull	0	3	0	10	4	5	1	0	0	
Boring	0	0	0	6	9	3	1	1	3	Cosmopolitan	3	0	0	0	9	8	0	0	1	Casual	1	5	0	8	5	10	4	0	0	
Busy	0	0	0	4	6	6	4	0	0	Boring	0	5	9	4	4	1	0	1	0	Content	0	1	2	3	10	7	8	0	0	
Considerate	0	0	0	2	6	11	1	0	0	Interesting	0	0	3	4	8	5	0	0	0	Staid	0	1	1	3	7	0	0	0	0	
Impressionable	4	1	8	4	4	3	0	0	2	Idealistic	2	3	3	11	0	0	1	0	0	Petty	2	3	5	10	0	0	0	1	0	
Cheerful	0	0	0	3	4	10	3	0	0	Easy Going	0	2	2	2	7	4	5	0	0	Unambitious	0	0	2	5	8	4	1	0	0	
Dull	0	1	5	7	7	5	2	0	0	Honest	0	4	10	6	0	0	0	0	0	Weak	1	1	6	10	2	0	0	0	0	
Efficient	0	0	0	2	6	9	3	0	0	Shrewd	0	0	6	6	6	2	0	0	0	Tolerant	0	1	1	6	10	2	0	0	0	
Fussy	0	0	0	3	7	8	2	0	0	Adventurous	0	0	0	0	6	6	4	0	0	Thoughtful	0	1	7	9	1	2	0	0	0	
H. Working	0	0	1	4	8	6	1	0	0	Child like	2	5	4	4	6	0	2	0	3	Simple	3	1	5	4	4	3	1	4	0	
Mid-aged	0	0	0	0	2	7	9	2	0	Content	3	4	4	7	2	0	0	0	0	Peaceful	0	0	0	3	10	8	3	1	0	
Mid-class	0	0	2	2	7	3	6	0	0	Imaginative	0	1	6	9	3	2	0	0	0	Practical	0	0	0	8	8	4	0	0	0	
Practical	1	0	3	3	5	7	4	0	0	Quiet	0	0	5	9	2	0	0	0	1	Hard working	1	1	1	7	4	0	0	0	0	
Placid	1	1	1	3	5	6	5	0	0	Slow	0	4	5	9	3	2	0	0	0											
Straight-for.d	0	1	1	1	6	8	4	0	0	Sociable	0	0	7	5	1	0	0	0	0											
										Traditional	0	5	3	2	1	6	3	0	0											

Raw data from 'objective judges' -experiment three continued.

Copy of the questionnaire distributed to the group subjects for Part
Part in Experiment Four.

Instructions:

" For each of the pairs of photographs that you will be given,
I want you to look between them and decide if the two
individuals differ from each other in any way.

For instance, if you feel that picture A differs from Picture
B, because A is good and B is bad, then in the column write
down the word good (underneath whichever column is appropriate),
and in the other column write the word bad.

If you feel the two personalities differ in because one
is good and the other is not, write down the word 'good' under the
appropriate column. Now you may feel that the other character is not
as 'good' as the first character, but you may hesitate to call him
bad. You then put the word that you feel to be appropriate (it might
be malicious, for instance), in the second column, i.e. because you
put down one adjective, you do not have to put down the opposite for
the other character.

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the sixty subjects who took part in Experiment Four.

Instructions:

" For each of the pairs of photographs that you will be given, I want you to list between 6 and 8 ways in which the two individuals differ from each other in personality.

For instance, if you feel that picture A. differs from Picture B. , because A is good and B. is bad, then in one column write down the word good (underneath whichever column is appropriate), and in the other column write the word 'bad'.

If you feel that the way the two personalities differ is because one is good and the other is not, write down the word 'good' under the appropriate column. Now you may feel that the other character is not as 'good' as the first character, but you may hesitate to call him bad. You then put the word that you feel to be appropriate (it might be malicious, for instance), in the second column; i.e. because you put down one adjective, you do not have to put down its opposite for the other character.

[illegible]

PAIR FIVE

[illegible]

PAIR SIX

[illegible]

SITUATION A.

Title: _____

Instructions for Part two:

"You are going to be given two drawings which depict various situations. What I want you to do is to use your imagination, and weave a story around the characters in the drawing and the situation they are in. You may include what you imagine has led up to this situation, and how the situation will resolve itself. Make your story as full and as interesting as possible. There is space to write your story down overleaf."

SITUATION A.

Title :

Title : _____

Copy of questionnaire presented to the twenty subjects who took part in the
 'Judgment' section of Experiment Four.

SITUATION B.

(Subjects were presented with the photographed pairs of individuals as stimuli.)

Title : _____

Instructions

"On the following pages, you will see lists of adjectives. Each list refers to one of the set of photographs that you have been given, (e.g. photograph A / Adjective list A). These adjectives might be applicable to the subject of the photograph.

What you are required to do is that:

- Being as objective as you can, award each of the adjectives a position on the following scale:

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
All	Most	Many	Some	Few	Min	No one
People	people	people	people	people	of	people

i.e. if you award Position 7, you indicate that you feel that ALL people would judge this adjective to be applicable to the photograph.

OR

if you award position 1, you indicate that you feel SOME people would judge this adjective to be applicable.

Work as quickly as you can, and do not omit any adjectives."

Copy of questionnaire presented to the twenty subjects who took part in the 'objective judgement' section of Experiment Four.

(Subjects were presented with the photographed pairs of individuals as stimuli.)

Instructions

"On the following pages, you will see lists of adjectives. Each list refers to one of the set of photographs that you have been given, (e.g. photograph A / Adjective list A). These adjectives might be applicable to the subject of the photograph.

What you are required to do is this:

Being as objective as you can, award each of the adjectives a position on the following scale.

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
All	Maj of	Many	Some	Few	Min	No one
People	people	people	people	people	of	people

i.e. if you award Position 7, you indicate that you feel that ALL people would judge this adjective to be applicable to the photograph.

OR

if you award position 4, you indicate that you feel SOME people would judge this adjective to be applicable.

Work as quickly as you can , and do not omit any adjective."

'Objective judgement' questionnaire Expt.4 cont'.Photograph A /Adjective List A

Easy Going	Intelligent
Optimistic	Simple
Happy	Cunning
Resigned	Friendly
Unassuming	Aggressive
Open	Cultured
Lively	Confident
Strong	Business-like
Shrewd	Leader
Religious	Perceptive
Peaceful	Paternalistic
Honest	Good
Out going	Idealistic
Neat	Sensual
Patient	Witty
Expressive	
Generous	
Enthusiastic	
Cynical	
Independent	
Unintelligent	
Kind	
Positive	
Emotional	
Embittered	
Sad	
Extrovert	
Smug	
Happy -go-Lucky	
Helpful	
Proud	
Determined	

Photograph B / Adjective List B

Shifty

Selfish

Reserved

Arrogant

Opinionated

Placid

Conservative

Weak

Pensive

Content

Poetical

Sad

Sober

Dreamy

Passionate

Melancholy

Worried

Hard

Cynical

Surly

Indecisive

Cross

Forceful

Cunning

Wise

Lonely

Intelligent

Cautious

Jovial

Unkind

Honest

Ordinary

Self Doubting

Unfriendly

Tired

Quiet

Dissatisfied

Cool

Reserved

Lethargic

Shy

Kind

Unintelligent

Dull

Active

Mild

Moody

Introvert

Unimaginative

Impatient

Mean

Determined

Careful

Cruel

Careless

Photograph C / Adjective List C

Perceptive	Worried
Strict	Unemotional
Stern	Weak
Friendly	Accepting
Helpful	Nasty
Honest	Masterful
Scrupulous	Sly
Stupid	Practical
Patient	Intelligent
Hard	Inquisitive
Determined	Sociable
Alert	Straight forward
Capable	Neat
Calm	Aggressive
Untrustworthy	Severe
Grim	Self Satisfied
Law abiding	Shallow
Happy	Open
Confident	Conformist
Forthright	Chauvanistic
Cruel	Prejudiced
Efficent	Sharp
Logical	Secure
Nervous	Proud
Narrow	
Realistic	
Dull	
Domineering	
Suspicious	
Quick acting	
Diploomatic	
Self Concious	
Fair	
Ambitious	
Strong	
Nosey	
Obsessed	

Photograph D / Adjective List D

Weak	Reserved
Insecure	Moral
Worried	Bitter
Vague	Tired
Liberal	Intelligent
Tough	Slow
Dull	Disillusioned
Passive	Secretive
Impatient	Far sighted
Defenceless	Active
Arrogant	Careful
Lazy	Humourless
Forgetful	Open
Perceptive	Unpopular
Selfish	Complex
Unemotional	Careless
Independent	
Thoughtful	
Unkind	
Dim	
Solitary	
Unsociable	
Quiet	
Mean	
Stable	
Dishonest	
Violent	
Relaxed	
Loyal	
Sly	
Kind	
Follower	
Happy	
Sad	
Optimist	
Obstinate	
Stern	
Determined	

Photograph E /Adjective List E

Easy Going	Untidy
Introspective	Generous
Honest	Mystic
Reserved	Inexperienced
Intelligent	Frivolous
Gentle	Determined
Careless	Social Outcast
Even Tempered	Cruel
Emotional	Impressionable
Kind	Extrovert
Weak	Shallow
Self Doubting	Sensitive
Selfish	Conformist
Arrogant	Broad Minded
Free	Interesting
Trusting	Unfriendly
Unconventional	Searching
Secretive	
Egotistical	
Unaccepted	
Creative	
Friendly	
Aetheist	
Non Conforming	
Cautious	
Shy	
Sad	
Insecure	
Vague	
Lazy	
Liberal	
Stupid	
Intolerant	
Unpolished	
Lonely	
Confused	
Freakish	

Photograph G / Adjective List GPhotograph F / Adjective List F

Self Righteous

Reserved

Patient

Capable

Austere

Conscientious

Conventional

Polite

Compromising

Demanding

Orderly

Habitual

Independent

Kind

Self Centred

Logical

Practical

Objective

Hard

Intelligent

Pompous

Stern

Mean

Unfriendly

Calm

Superior

Unemotional

Stable

Self Assured

Suspicious

Upright

Industrious

Melancholy

Worried

Ordinary

Dishonest

Domineering

Cold

Boring

Disciplined

Intolerant

Open

Bigoted

Ambitious

Affluent

Determined

Direct

Weak

Contented

Resigned

Leader

Introvert

Articulate

Resentful

Photograph G / Adjective List G

Carefree

Gentle

Intelligent

Maternal

Nice

Strong

Confident

Happy

Self Contained

Kind

Open

Honest

Passive

Friendly

Natural

Unconcerned

Perceptive

Casual

Nervous

Unemotional

Sexy

Good Natured

Emotional

Accepting

Calm

Practical

Simple

Secure

Experienced

Proud

Quick Tempered

Quick Witted

Helpful

Unintelligent

Sad

Hard working

Deep

Good

Trendy

Beautiful

Artistic

Young

Interesting

Worldly

Photograph I / Adjective List IPhotograph H / Adjective List H

Shallow	Disillusioned
Harsh	Simple
Thoughtful	Controlled
Proud	Tense
Arrogant	Attractive
Ethereal	Steadfast
Sad	Dreamy
Shy	Narrow
Stable	Secretive
Cold	Impatient
Academic	Witty
Sophisticated	Vain
Neurotic	Experienced
Gentle	Extrovert
Dominant	Tidy
Unsure	Calm
Malicious	Unartistic
Aggressive	Unfriendly
Lazy	
Unintelligent	
Mercenary	
Selfish	
Caring	
Weak	
Intelligent	
Intolerant	
Hard	
Conventional	
Dull	
Young	
Stubborn	
Bitchy	
Untidy	
Self Centred	
Passive	
Moody	
Wealthy	
Introvert	

Photograph I /Adjective List I

Humble	Satisfied
Gentle	Passive
Generous	Firm
Honest	Tired
Patient	Ambitious
Dedicated	Extrovert
Hard working	Determined
Kind	Soft Spoken
Dull	Interesting
Pleasant	Weak
Friendly	Natural
Simple	
Practical	
Sympathetic	
Resourceful	
Unintelligent	
Capable	
Narrow	
Intelligent	
Happy	
Thoughtful	
Cool	
Stern	
Sad	
Active	
Working Class	
Submissive	
Efficient	
Worried	
Busy	
Unsociable	
Quiet	
Maternal	
Immature	
Shy	
Neat	
Mellow	
Sexless	

Photograph J /Adjective List J

Selfish	Impatient
Aggressive	Shy
Hard	Interesting
Dreamy	Sensitive
Alert	Unfriendly
Kind	Immature
Calculating	Feminine
Quiet	Demanding
Sad	
Detached	
Active	
Sophisticated	
Cunning	
Lazy	
Cold	
Intelligent	
Vicious	
Thoughtful	
Aloof	
Sleepy	
Weak	
Proud	
Moody	
Unsympathetic	
Dull	
Introvert	
Reflective	
Sheltered	
Cheerful	
Sociable	
Independent	
Impractical	
Insecure	
Single Minded	
Tidy	
Artistic	
Secure	
Confident	

Photograph K /Adjective List K

Kind	Hard working
Humble	Modest
Quiet	Patient
Easy Going	Strong
Caring	Interested
Tired	Real
Simple	Ambitious
Practical	Introvert
Honest	
Pleasant	
Intelligent	
Dependable	
Gentle	
Authoratative	
Common sensical	
Dedicated	
Useful	
Calm	
Sympathetic	
Efficient	
Serious	
Optimistic	
Stern	
Unconfident	
Dull	
Tidy	
Submissive	
Active	
Resentful	
Unsophisticated	
Unemotional	
Eager to Please	
Friendly	
Shy	
Ordinary	

Adjectives produced by the sixty subjects in Experiment Four Part One, grouped systematically.

Photograph L / Adjective List L

Sophisticated

Relaxed

Vain

Cold

Dreamer

Ambitious

Fashionable

Snooty

Flirtatious

High Class

False

Malleable

Hard

Complacent

Selfish

Forward

Extrovert

Sad

Sour

Stupid

Reserved

Tired

Bitchy

Sociable

Lively

Mercenary

Flippant

Confident

Self Opinionated

Nervous

Scatter Brain

Likable

Weak

Kind

Charming

Domineering

Disillusioned

Unfriendly

Devious

Showy

Intolerant

Erratic

Decadent

Impractical

Affected

Feminine

Lazy

Cynical

Polite

Adjectives produced by the sixty subjects in Experiment Four Part One, grouped synonymously.

(The adjective in capital letters at the begining of each group of adjectives, is the one which was included as part of the 'objective judgement' questionnaire).

Description One

Coloured Male (vs. white male)

HAPPY	23	OPTIMISTIC	3	EMOTIONAL	1
Cheerful	10	Hopeful	1	Moody	1
Content	2	PATIENT	3	ENTHUSIASTIC	1
Humorous	6	Tolerant	3	Inspiring	1
Jovial	4	EMBITTERED	2	EXPRESSIVE	1
Smiling	2	Callous	1	Lyric	1
KIND	17	Cruel	1	Responsive	1
Benevolent	2	Hard	1	HELPFUL	1
Gentle	8	Harsh	1	Compassionate	1
Helpful	1	EXTROVERT	2	Considerate	1
Understanding	1	Boisterous	1	INDEPENDENT	1
FRIENDLY	12	HAPPY GO LUCKY	2	Uninvolved	1
Agreeable	1	Carefree	1	NEAT	1
Pleasant	2	HONEST	2	Clean	1
Sociable	2	Scrupulous	1	PEACEFUL	1
INTELLIGENT	10	OUTGOING	2	Uninvolved	1
Clear headed	1	Fun	1	POSITIVE	1
Quick witted	1	Extrovert	1	Factual	1
Smart	1	SAD	2	Objective	1
GENEROUS	8	Unhappy	1	RELIGIOUS	1
Compassionate	1	SHREWD	2	Moral	1
Helpful	1	Astute	1	RESIGNED	1
Feeling	1	Alert	2	Humble	1
Thoughtful	1	Down to Earth	1	Lethargic	
PROUD	5	SIMPLE	2	Passive	1
Noble	2	Humble	1		
DETERMINED	4	SMUG	2		
Convinced	1	Self Satisfied	2		
Decisive	1	AGGRESSIVE	1		
Obstinate	1	Vindictive	1		
STRONG	4	CULTURED	1		
Firm	2	Well Educated	1		
Forceful	3	CUNNING	1		
Powerful	1	Shifty	1		
Self Assertive	1	Shrewd	1		
UNINTELLIGENT	4	Sly	1		
Dim	1	CYNICAL	1		
LIVELY	3	Bitter	1		
Impulsive	3				
Vivacious	1				
Volatile	1				

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 61

Those adjectives with more than one judgement = 10 : Confident (5); Businesslike (2) ; Leader (2); Perceptive (2); Paternalistic (2); Good (2); Idealistic (3) Sensual (3); Witty (2); Sad (2).

Description TwoWHITE MALE (vs coloured male)

INTELLIGENT	7	SELFISH	4	SELF DOUBTING	2	PLACID	1
Clever	2	Intolerant	2	Doubting	1	Calm	1
Intellectual	3	Self centred	2	SHY	2	Content	1
Quick Witted	1	UNFRIENDLY	4	Sensitive	1	Easy going	1
WEAK	7	Unsociable	2	Soulful	1	SOBER	1
Cowardly	1	CYNICAL	3	SURLY	2	Disciplined	1
Soft	2	Disillusioned	1	Bitter	1	WISE	1
Submissive	1	Contemptuous	1	Sullen	1	Experienced	1
PENSIVE	6	Worldly	1	TIRED	2		
Questioining	1	FORCEFUL	3	Weary	1		
Thoughtful	1	Dominant	3	Worn	1		
SAD	6	Tough	1	UNINTELLIGENT	2		
Depressed	1	DISSATISFIED	3	Ignorant	1		
Dreary	1	Disgruntled	1	ACTIVE	1		
Pessimistic	2	Unhappy	1	Brisk	1		
Withdrawn	1	KIND	3	Quick	1		
HARD	5	Benevolent	1	CAUTIOUS	1		
Harsh	2	Considerate	2	Hesitant	1		
Insensitive	1	Gentle	1	Slow	1		
Intolerant	1	LONELY	3	COOL	1		
Stern	4	Solitary	1	Calculating	1		
MELANCHOLY	5	Secluded	1	CROSS	1		
Frowning	1	QUIET	3	Vindictive	1		
Grave	1	Silent	2	HONEST	1		
Miserable	4	RESERVED	3	Steady	1		
Morose	4	Reticent	2	INDECISIVE	1		
Mournful	2	SHIFTY	3	Muddled	1		
WORRIED	5	Crafty	2	Perplexed	1		
Anxious	1	Scheming	2	JOVIAL	1		
Pessimistic	1	Secretive	2	Humorous	1		
Troubled	1	Shrewd	2	MILD	1		
ARROGANT	4	UNKIND	3	Meek	1		
Cold	1	Nasty	1	MOODY	1		
CUNNING	4	CONSERVATIVE	2	Temperamental	1		
Devious	4	Sedate	1	ORDINARY	1		
Dishonest	2	CONTENT	2	Average	1		
DREAMY	4	Peaceful	1	Nondescript	1		
Vague	2	INTROVERT	2	OPINIONATED	1		
DULL	4	Contained	1	Dogmatic	1		
Boring	1	LETHARGIC	2	PASSIONATE	1		
Humourless	1	Apathetic	1	Incensed	1		
Solemn	1	Dozy	1				
RESERVED	4	Lazy	1				
Introvert	1	Sleepy	1				
Phlegmatic	1						

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 62.

Of these 62 adjectives those with more than one judgement = 7 : Unimaginative (3)
 Impatient (2); Mean(mercenary 4); Determined (3); Careful (2); Cruel (2);
 Careless (2).

Description ThreePOLICEMAN (vs. white male)

HONEST	10	AMBITIOUS	3	SCRUPULOUS	2	SELF CONCIOUS	1
Honourable	1	Eager	1	Upright	1	Shy	1
Reliable	2	Fervent	1	SOCIABLE	2	Unassuming	1
Responsible	1	Motivated	1	Companionab.	4	SEVERE	1
Trustworthy	1	Work oriented	1	STRAIGHT	2	Forbidding	1
ALERT	8	NASTY	3	Frank	1	SUSPICIOUS	1
Astute	1	Unpleasant	1	STRICT	2	Calculating	1
Penetrating	1	STUPID	3	Austere	1	Wary	1
Shrewd	4	Dim	1	UNTRUST.Y	2	UNEMOTIONAL	1
Watchful	1	Unintelligent	3	Back stabber	1	Unfeeling	1
HARD	8	SLY	3	Malicious	1		
Inflexible	1	Devious	1	CAPABLE	1		
Serious	1	NEAT	3	Efficient	1		
Stable	1	Tidy	1	CRUEL	1		
Stubborn	1	ACCEPTING	2	Mean	1		
HELPFUL	8	Passive	1	DOMINEERING	1		
Benevolent	2	Placid	1	Dominant	1		
Kind	6	CALM	2	Overpowering	1		
Protective	1	Placid	1	DULL	1		
STERN	7	DIPLOMATIC	2	Boring	1		
Authoritative	5	Cautious	1	Uninteresting	1		
Dogmatic	1	FRIENDLY	2	EFFICIENT	1		
Rigid	1	Gregarious	1	Definite	1		
HAPPY	6	GRIM	2	Organized	1		
Cheerful	1	Callous	1	FAIR	1		
Humorous	6	Distant	1	Just	1		
Jolly	2	INQUISITIVE	2	FORTHRIGHT	1		
STRONG	5	Inquiring	1	Abrupt	1		
Brave	2	Interfering	1	Decisive	1		
Courageous	1	LAW ABIDING	2	LOGICAL	1		
Forceful	1	Controlled	1	Objective	1		
Ruthless	1	Disciplined	1	NERVOUS	1		
CONFIDENT	4	Obedient	1	Neurotic	1		
Cool	1	MASTERFUL	2	NOSEY	1		
Optimistic	1	Bold	1	Penetrating	1		
DETERMINED	4	Commanding	1	OBSESSED	1		
Immovable	1	Imposing	1	Enthusiatic	1		
INTELLIGENT	4	PATIENT	2	Fanatic	1		
Clever	1	Gentle	2	PRACTICAL	1		
Quick witted	2	Persevering	1	Doer	1		
NARROW	4	Tolerant	1	REALISTIC	1		
Bigoted	1	PERCEPTIVE	2	Down /Earth	1		
Unthinking	1	Clear Minded	1	Matter /fact	1		
AGGRESSIVE	3	QUICK ACTING	2				
Ill tempered	1	Energetic	1				
Quick tempered	2						

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 60; Those with more than one judgement = 10 : Self satisfied (2); Shallow (2) ; Open (4); Conformist (2) Chauvanistic (2); Prejudiced (3); Cruel (4); Sharp (2); Secure (2); Proud (2);

Description FourWhite Male (vs. Policeman)

KIND	9	LIBERAL	3	SOLITARY	2
Benign	2	Co-operative	1	Loner	2
Content	1	Easy going	2	Self Suff.	1
Lovable	1	Flexible	3	STERN	2
Pleasant	1	Patient	3	Forbidding	1
Sympathetic	1	MEAN	3	Strict	1
WEAK	9	Hurtful	1	TOUGH	2
Cowardly	1	Uncompassionate	1	Harsh	1
Humble	1	Unhelpful	1	Rough	2
Meek	2	SELFISH	3	VAGUE	2
Soft	2	Demanding	1	Confused	1
THOUGHTFUL	7	Imposing on people	1	Fuddled	1
Conscientious	1	Self Centred	1	Hesitant	1
Considerate	1	SLY	3	Unsure	1
Contemplative	1	Malevolent	1	Undecided	1
Deep	4	ARROGANT	2	Undetermined	1
SAD	6	Proud	1	Unconfident	1
Melancholy	3	Opinionated	1	Unresolved	1
Miserable	1	Superior	1	VIOLENT	2
Morose	1	DETERMINED	2	Angry	1
Serious	1	Forceful	2	Belligerent	1
Sorrowful	1	Imposing	1	Vindictive	1
Sullen	1	Rigid	1	WORRIED	2
DISHONEST	5	Strong	1	Fearful	1
Calculating	2	UNSOCIABLE	3	Troubled	1
Cunning	1	Unfriendly	2	FORGETFUL	1
Crafty	1	DIM	2	Absent Min.d	1
Crooked	1	Dopey	1	HAPPY	1
Scheming	2	Ignorant	1	Humorous	1
Shady	1	Obtuse	1	INDEPENDENT	1
Shifty	2	Stupid	1	Detached	1
Untrustworthy	2	Thick	1	Unapproachable	1
DULL	5	FOLLOWER	2	LOYAL	1
Boring	2	Submissive	1	Trusting	1
Uninteresting	1	INSECURE	2	Trustworthy	1
UNEMOTIONAL	2	Nervous	1	OPTIMIST	1
Insensitive	1	Scared	1	Self. conf.	1
PASSIVE	4	OBSTINATE	2	STABLE	1
Docile	1	Stubborn	1	Equatable	1
QUIET	4	PERCEPTIVE	2		
Reclusive	1	Searching	1		
Withdrawn	1	RELAXED	2		
IMPATIENT	3	Calm	1		
Curt	1				

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 67. Of these 67 adjectives those with more than one judgement = 16

Reserved (2); Moral (2); Bitter (2); Tired (3); Intelligent (14); Slow (5); Disillusioned (2); Secretive (2); Far sighted (2); Active (2); Careful (2); Humorousless (2); Open (2); Unpopular (2); Complex (2); Careless (2);

Description FiveHIPPY (vs businessman)

EASY GOING	9	NON CONFORMIST	4	CRUEL	2	SELF DOUBTING	1
Accepting	1	Anti-Auth.y	1	Unkind	1	Disillusioned	1
Carefree	1	Idelaist	2	EGOTISTICAL	2	Self seeking	1
Flexible	1	Individual	2	Self Centred	1	SELFISH	1
Happy go lucky	1	Rebellious	1	INTOLERANT	2	Callous	1
Tolerant	1	Revolutionary	1	Impulsive	1	Unconcerned	1
KIND	9	SHY	4	Impatint	1	STUPID	1
Considerate	1	Introvert	1	RESEVED	2	Empty	1
Concerned	2	Unassuming	2	Detached	1	Less intell.	1
Likable	1	UNCONVENTIONAL	4	UNACCEPTED	2	Slow witted	1
Loving	2	Exhibitionistic	1	Downtrodden	1	Vacuous	1
Warm	1	WEAK	4	Oppressed	1	TRUSTING	1
GENEROUS	7	Pitiful	1	UNTIDY	2	Accepting	1
Open handed	1	Soft	1	Dishevelled	2	UNPOLISHED	1
SAD	6	FREAKISH	3	Disorderly	1	Unsubtle	1
Discontent	1	'Far out'	1	Unkempt	1		
Humorless	1	Foppish	1	AETHEIST	1		
Melancholy	1	Modern	1	Irreligious	1		
Sorrowful	1	Trendy	2	ARROGANT	1		
Unhappy	1	FREE	3	Haughty	1		
CARELESS	5	Unguided	1	CAUTIOUS	1		
Carefree	2	GENTLE	3	Careful	1		
LAZY	5	Docile	1	DETERMINED	1		
Aimless	2	Humble	2	Single minded	1		
Sluggish	1	Passive	2	EVEN TEMPERED	1		
Lethargic	1	Quiet	1	Calm	1		
Unambitious	1	Relaxed	1	FRIVOLOUS	1		
Useless	1	INEXPERIENCED	3	Whimsical	1		
CONFUSED	4	Immature	1	IMPRESSIONAL	1		
Undecided	1	INSECURE	3	Follower	1		
Unsettled	1	Fearful	1	Easily Led	1		
Unsure	1	Unsure	1	INTROSPECT.E	1		
Vacillating	1	Worried	2	Aware	1		
EMOTIONAL	4	INTELLIGENT	3	Perceptive	1		
Depressive	3	Wise	2	Withdrawn	1		
Moody	1	LONELY	3	LIBERAL	1		
FRIENDLY	4	Isolated	1	Socialistic	1		
Approachable	1	MYSTIC	3	Non-Fascist	1		
Sincere	1	Mysterious	2	SECRETIVE	1		
Sociable	1	VAGUE	3	Evasive	1		
HONEST	4	Pensive	1				
Forthright	1						

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 73. Of these, those with more than one judgement = 8. Extrovert (5); Shallow (2); Sensitive (3); Conformist (2); Broad Minded (3); Interesting (2); Unfriendly (2); Searching (2)

Description SixBUSINESSMAN(vs Hippy)

CONVENTIONAL	7	ORDERLY	3	STERN	2	PATIENT	1
Conformist	6	Efficient	2	Serious	2	Compassionate	1
Square	1	Meticulous	2	Solemn	1	Humane	1
INTELLIGENT	7	Organized	2	WORRIED	2	Sympathetic	1
Clever	1	Precise	1	Insecure	1	POLITE	1
Knowledgable	1	Tidy	2	AFFLUENT	1	Courteous	1
Quick witted	1	SELF ASSURED	3	Wealthy	1	POMPOUS	1
Sharp	1	Confident	1	AUSTERE	1	Official	1
Smart (intell)	3	Controlled	1	Cold	1	SELF CENTRED	1
DETERMINED	6	UNEMOTIONAL	3	Disdainful	1	Inconsiderate	1
Purposeful	1	Demure	1	Distant	1	Selfish	1
HARD	4	Sober	2	Unconcerned	1	SUPERIOR	1
Aggressive	4	UNFREINDLY	3	BIGOTED	1	Classy	1
Ambitious	3	Belligerent	1	Dogmatic	1	Well bred	1
Harsh	2	Bad Tempered	2	Prejudiced	1	SUSPICIOUS	1
Forceful	3	Unpleasant	1	CAPABLE	1	Wary	1
Ruthless	4	Unapproachable	1	Astute	1	UPRIGHT	1
Strong Minded	1	AMBITIOUS	2	Competent	1	Honest	1
Tough	1	Opportunist	1	COMPROMISING	1	WEAK	1
Over bearing	1	BORING	2	Peaceful	1	Spiritless	1
MEAN	4	Dull	1	COLD	1		
Avaricious	1	DISHONEST	2	Disdainful	1		
Mercenary	1	Deceptive	1	DIRECT	1		
Tight fisted	1	Devious	1	Candid	1		
SELF RIGHTEOUS	4	Scheming	1	DISCIPLINED	1		
Moralizing	1	INTOLERANT	2	Restrained	1		
Principled	1	Impatient	1	DEMANDING	1		
Narrow	3	OPEN	2	Powerful	1		
Rigid	2	Forthcoming	1	LOGICAL	1		
Self justify.g	1	ORDINARY	2	Clear cut	1		
CALM	3	Average	1	Impersonal	1		
Secure	1	Mundane	1	INDEPENDENT	1		
Coal	1	PRACTICAL	2	Self. Suff.	1		
CONSCIENTIOUS	3	Realist	1	INDUSTRIOUS	1		
Respectable	2	RESERVED	2	Hard worker	1		
Dependable	1	Phlegmatic	1	MELANCHOLY	1		
DOMINEERING	3	Aloof	2	Pessimistic	1		
Authorataive	1	Withdrawn	1	Unhappy	1		
Disciplinar.n	1	Solitary	1	OBJECTIVE	1		
HABITUAL	3	Distant	1	Critical	1		
Routinized	1	STABLE	2				
KIND	3	Responsible	1				
Benevolent	2						
Charitable	1						

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 53; Of these 53 adjs.; those with more than one judgement = 7 ; Contented (3); Leader (2); Introvert (2) Articulate (2); Practical (2); Resentful (2) ;

Description SevenCOLOURED FEMALE (vs white female)

HAPPY	18	HONEST	4
cheerful	7	Genuine	1
content	9	Sincere	2
Humorous	6	NICE	3
Pleasant	2	Sweet	3
INTELLIGENT	14	PASSIVE	3
Aware	1	Humble	3
Clever	1	Resigned	1
Sharp	1	PERCEPTIVE	2
FRIENDLY	13	Understanding	1
Companionable	1	STRONG	2
Gregarious	1	Dominant	1
Sociable	2	Over bearing	1
KIND	13	ACCEPTING	1
Caring	1	Unquestion.g	1
Humane	2	CASUAL	1
Generous	5	Blase	1
Loving	4	CALM	1
Sympathetic	1	Relaxed	1
Warm	2	EMOTIONAL	1
Understanding	1	Passionate	1
GENTLE	11	Spirited	1
Patient	4	GOOD NATURED	1
Quiet	4	Tolerant	1
Relaxed	1	SELF CONTAINED	1
Serene	2	Cool	1
OPEN	8	Indifferent	1
Direct	1	SEXY	1
Easy going	5	Sensuous	1
Free	1	UNCONCERNED	1
Forthcoming	1	Inconsiderate	1
Outgoing	3	UNEMOTIONAL	1
CAREFREE	7	Phlegmatic	1
Active	4	NERVOUS	1
Spontaneous	1	Wary	1
Impulsive	4		
MATERNAL	3		
Child loving	1		
Motherly	1		
Soft hearted	2		
CONFIDENT	4		
Self assured	1		
Self Aware	1		
Sure	2		

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 60

Of these 60 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 19

Practical (2); Simple (4); Secure (3); Experienced (3); Proud (2); Quick tempered (2); Quick witted (2); Helpful (6); Unintelligent (3); Sad (5); Poor (2); Hard working (2); Deep (4); Good (2); Trendy (2); Beautiful (3); Artistic (2); Young (3); Interesting (2); Worldly (2);

Description EightWHITE FEMALE (vs coloured female)

INTELLIGENT	9	THOUGHTFUL	4	SELF CENTRED	2
Clever	1	Pensive	3	Egocentric	1
Quick witted	1	Reflective	1	SIMPLE	2
SAD	9	CARING	3	Naive	1
Depressed	2	Concerned	1	Unself aware	1
Dissatisfied	4	Helpful	1	SOPHISTICATED	2
Discontent	2	ETHEREAL	3	Refined	1
Melancholy	3	Graceful	2	Worldly	1
Unhappy	4	Serene		STABLE	2
INTROVERT	8	LAZY	3	Equilibrant	1
Introspective	2	Slothful	1	TENSE	2
SHY	8	MOODY	3	Pressured	1
Detached	1	Depressive	2	UNINTELLIGENT	2
Sensitive	1	ACADEMIC	2	Stupid	1
Reserved	5	Studious	1	WEAK	2
Withdrawn	5	ARROGANT	2	Apathetic	1
SELFISH	8	Aloof	2	Listless	1
Unhelpful	3	Conceited	1	YOUNG	2
DOMINANT	7	Supercilious	1	Immature	1
Decisive	1	CONVENTIONAL	2	ATTRACTIVE	1
Determined	1	Modest	1	Pretty	1
Strong willed	1	Proper	1	BITCHY	1
HARD	7	DISILLUSIONED	2	Malicious	1
Calculating	1	Cynical	1	MERCENARY	1
Callous	2	DREAMY	2	Careful (with money)	1
Unkind	3	Romantic	1	STUBBORN	1
COLD	6	GENTLE	2	Obstinate	1
Clear headed	1	Kind	1	UNTIDY	1
Controlled	1	Loving	1	Slovenly	1
DULL	5	MALICIOUS	2	STEADFAST	1
Boring	3	Devious	1	Honourable	1
UNSURE	5	Scheming	1	CONTROLLED	1
Insecure	2	NEUROTIC	2	Collected	1
Self Conscious	1	Apprehensive	1	INTOLERANT	1
AGGRESSIVE	4	Nervous	1	Ill tempered	1
Curt	1	Unsure	1	WEALTHY	1
Forceful	3	PROUD	2	Well Off	1
HARSH	4	Haughty	1		
Cruel	1	Condescending	1		
Relentless	1	PASSIVE	2		
Vicious	2	Repressed	1		
SHALLOW	4	Restricted	1		
Imperceptive	1	Unimpulsive	1		
Thoughtless	2				
Superficial	1				

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 57; Of these 57 adjectives those mentioned more than once = 11 :

Narrow (2); Secretive (3); Impatient (2); Witty (2); Vain (2); Experienced (2); Extrovert (2); Tidy (3); Calm (2); Unartistic (2); Unfriendly (3);

Description NineNURSE (vs white female)

KIND	18	CAPABLE	4	COOL	1
Altruistic	1	Confident	3	Calm	1
Benevolent	1	Responsible	1	IMMATURE	1
Considerate	4	GENEROUS	3	Youthful	1
Good	2	Affectionate	3	Young	1
Helpful	6	Giving	1	MATERNAL	1
HARD WORKING	11	HUMBLE	3	Homely	1
Laboring	1	Abasing	1	Motherly	1
HAPPY	10	INTELLIGENT	3	NEAT	1
Amused	4	Bright	3	Tidy	1
Cheerful	2	Quisk witted	1	RESOURSF.L1	
Sweet tempered	1	Wisw	2	Ideaful	1
FRIENDLY	9	PLEASANT	3	STERN	1
Gregarious	2	Good natured	1	Bitter	1
Out going	1	Likable	1	UNSCOIABLE1	
Social	1	QUIET	3	Unfriendly1	
HONEST	7	Reserved	1	WORK. CLASS 1	
Open	2	SAD	3	Lower class 1	
Reliable	3	Depressed	1	WORRIED	1
Sincere	1	Morose	1	Fearful	1
PATIENT	7	Unhappy	1		
Content	2	SHY	3		
Resigned	1	Timid	1		
DEDICATED	6	THOUGHTFUL	3		
Devoted	2	Dreamy	1		
Selfless	1	BUSY	2		
EFFICIENT	6	Tireless	1		
Brisk	1	DULL	2		
Organized	2	Boring	2		
GENTLE	6	NARROW	2		
Caring	1	Prim	1		
Compassionate	5	SIMPLE	2		
Warm	4	Guileless	2		
PRACTICAL	6	Innocent	1		
Down to Earth	1	Naive	1		
Factual	1	Uncomplicated	1		
Meticulous	1	SUBMISSIVE	2		
SYMPATHETIC	5	Obedient	1		
Understanding	3	Subservient	1		
UNINTELLIGENT	5	ACTIVE	1		
Stupid	1	Fresh	1		

Number of adjectives excluded by synonym grouping = 71; Of these 71 adjectives those that have been produced more than once = 13;

Mellow (2); Sexless (2); Satisfied (4); Passive (2); Firm (2); Tired (3); Ambitious (2); Extrovert (4); Determined (5); Soft spoken (3); Interesting (2); Weak (2); Weak (2); Natural (2);

Description TenWHITE FEMALE (vs Nurse)

SAD	10	COLD	3	REFLECTIVE	1
Depressed	1	Calm	1	Retrospective	1
Melancholy	1	Cool	1	SHELTERED	1
Solemn	1	CUNNING	3	Helpless	1
Unhappy	4	Deceitful	1	Unworldly	1
INTELLIGENT	9	Devious	2	SLEEPY	1
Bright	2	Scheming	2	Tired	1
Quick witted	2	Sly	1		
Clever	1	DULL	3		
SELFISH	9	Boring	2		
Self interested	1	MOODY	3		
Self centred	1	Emotional	1		
HARD	6	Sullen	1		
Cruel	3	KIND	3		
Harsh	4	Good natured	1		
Stern	2	PROUD	3		
Unkind	4	Arrogant	1		
INTROVERT	6	Conceited	1		
Introspective	1	Supercilious	1		
WEAK	6	QUIET	3		
Shallow	2	Controlled	1		
Soft	1	Reserved	3		
Passive	1	AGGRESSIVE	2		
DREAMY	4	Argumentative	1		
Absent minded	1	Speaks Mind	1		
Vague	1	ALERT	1		
LAZY	4	Noticing	1		
Idly	1	Perceptive	1		
Lethargic	2	CHEERFUL	2		
Slothful	1	Content	1		
UNSYMPATHETIC	4	Happy	1		
Dispassionate	1	SOPHISTICATED	2		
Unconcerned	2	Aware	1		
Unemotional	2	Cultured	1		
Unfeeling	2	Worldly	2		
ACTIVE	3	THOUGHTFUL	2		
Magnetic	1	Pensive	1		
Lively	2	VICIOUS	2		
ALOOF	3	Bitchy	1		
Unconcerned	1	Malicious	1		
CALCULATING	3	DETACHED	1		
Determined	1	Disinterested	1		
Deliberative	1				

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 92; Of these 92 adjectives those with more than one judgement = 17 : Sociable (2); Independent (4); Impractical (4); Insecure (3); Single Minded (2); Tidy (3); Artistic (3); Secure (2); Confident (4); Impatient (2); Shy (2); Interesting (3); Sensitive (3); Unfriendly (4); Immature (2); Feminine (2); Demanding (2);

Synonymously grouped adjectives continued:Description ElevenNURSE (vs Model)

KIND	19	UNEMOTIONAL	5	EASY GOING	1
Altruistic	1	Uninvolved	1	Content	1
Generous	3	ACTIVE	4	STERN	1
Selfless	3	Alert	1	Tough	1
Warm Hearted	4	Aware	1	TIRED	1
HUMBLE	9	CALM	4	Anxious	1
Unassuming	3	Confident	1	Nervous	1
Unsophisticated	1	Relaxed	1	RESENTFUL	1
PLEASANT	9	SYMPATHETIC	4	Unfriendly	1
Cheerful	3	Understanding	2	UNSOPHISTICATED	1
Happy	7	QUIET	3	Gauche	1
GENTLE	7	Reserved	3		
Homely	1	Unostentatious	1		
Loving	2	SERIOUS	3		
HONEST	7	Humorless	2		
Genuine	1	Sad	2		
Open	1	Solmn	3		
SIMPLE	7	TIDY	3		
Guileless	1	Neat	2		
Innocent	1	AUTHORATATIVE	2		
Naive	4	Commanding	1		
Natural	4	Bossy	1		
Unpretentious	1	Decisive	1		
DEDICATED	6	Dominating	2		
Convineed	1	Firm	1		
Dutiful	1	COMMON SENSE	2		
EFFICIENT	6	Down / Earth	2		
Capable	1	Factual	2		
Orderly	1	OPTIMISTIC	2		
Organized	1	Hopeful	1		
Reliable	1	SUBMISSIVE	2		
INTELLIGENT	6	Down trddden	1		
Bright	1	Servile	1		
Clever	1	UNCONFIDENT	2		
Sharp witted	1	Self Critical	1		
Wise	1	DEPENDABLE	2		
CARING	5	Considerate	1		
Compassionate	1	DULL	1		
Concerned	1	Dim	1		
Considerate	2	Vacant	1		
Helpful	1	Unintelligent	1		
PRACTICAL	5	EAGER / PLEASE	1		
Sensible	1	Anxious/ Please	1		
Stable	3				
Steady	1				

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 57 . Of these 57 adjectives, those with more than one judgemnt = 12 : K Friendly (9); Shy (6); Ordinary (2); Tired (2); Hard working (7); Modest (5); Patient (2); Strong (4); Interested (3); Real (3); Ambitious (2); Introvert (2);

Description TwleveMODEL (vs Nurse)

SOPHISTICATED	23	SOCIABLE	4	DEVIOUS	1
Glamorous	8	Friendly	1	Principless	1
Worldly	3	Gregarious	2	DREAMER	1
AMBITIOUS	10	STUPID	4	Vague	1
Competitive	1	Dumb	1	DISILLUSIONED	1
SELFISH	9	Foolish	1	No Illusions	1
Inconsiderate	1	Moronic	1	FALSE	1
Self Centred	1	Simple	1	Hollow	1
BITCHY	8	Unintelligent	1	FLIRTATIOUS	1
Callous	1	CONFIDENT	3	Sexy	1
Malicious	1	Sanguine	1	FORWARD	1
VAIN	8	Secure	1	Precocious	1
Egoist	1	Self assured	1	HIGH CLASS	1
Pretentious	1	COLD	3	Upper class	1
Self Import.	2	Calculating	1	INTOLERANT	1
SAD	7	Impersonal	1	Impatient	1
Depressed	1	FLIPPANT	3	LIKABLE	1
Dissatisfied	2	Insincere	1	Aimiable	1
Melancholy	1	Superficial	1	MALLEABLE	1
Sullen	1	KIND	3	Pliable	1
Unhappy	1	Content	1	RELAXED	1
SNOOTY	7	Well Meaning	1	At Ease	1
Arrogant	4	RESERVED	3	SCATTER BRAIN	1
Disdainful	1	Aloof	2	Absent mind.d	1
Haughty	1	Serene	1	Unaware	1
Proud	6	Unapproachable	1	Unthinking	1
FASHIONABLE	6	Withdrawn	1	SELF OPIN.D	1
Elegant	5	MERCENARY	2	Dogmatic	1
Groomed	2	Materialistic	1	SOUR	1
HARD	5	LIVELY	2	Bitter	1
Callous	1	Gay	1	TIRED	1
Cold	2	Vivacious	1	Fatigued	1
Harsh	1	SHOWY	2	Somnambulent	1
DOMINEERING	4	Exhibitionistic	1	WEAK	1
Demanding	1	Show off	2	Passive	1
EXTROVERT	4	UNFRIENDLY	2	Placid	1
Moody	1	Unpleasant	1		
Emotional	1	COMPLACENT	1		
Excitable	1	Unfeeling	1		
NERVOUS	4	CHARMING	1		
Self Concious	4	Gracious	1		
Unsure	1				

Number of adjectives excluded after synonym grouping = 64. Of these 64 adjectives, those with more than one judgement = 10 ; Erratic (2) ; Decadent (2); Impractical (2); Affected (2); Feminine (4); Lazy (6); Self Satisfied (2); Cynical (3); Shallow (2); Polite (2); False (2).

Examples of stories produced by the subjects in the 'story' section of Experiment Four.

Story Group A : (involving Coloured male, white male and old woman)

Example of a story with the White Male as 'hero'

Bob stood and waited at the bus stop. He saw a string of Number 9's whizz past him from the bridge, but there was still no sign of a 73. He had wrapped up well, knowing the journey would be long and tedious. At the stop he had found the old woman whom he saw every morning of his working week, with her shopping bag over her arm, obviously on her way back from her part-time cleaning job.

Around him Bob saw the people he had lived among for the past two years all the time he had lived in the city; in fact ever since he had left home, supposedly to find a new dimension to his life, in London. How he had been disappointed!. Everyone here lived in his own trouble and worries. Bob had found this so different from life back home where everyone knew everyone else passed the time of day, and chatted over a pint in the village local.

Now he had had enough of the loneliness and bleakness. He was discouraged and disappointed. He was now on the point of saying a final good-bye to the black population of London town (there had been none at home) - to the poor wrinkled old woman, whose only companion was a cat or perhaps a budgerigar, in their pokey bedsitters - to the hoards of people he met everyday, obviously lonely like himself, on the bus route to his backstreet office.

He was going to make the break, return home and find some of that peace of mind and friendliness which he had missed so much. He was going to make the final effort; take the final step to leave and try to re-capture his old life back home.

Example of a story mentioning coloured male

The old woman had come to London to spend Christmas with her daughter in Camden Town. It had been raining and she is cold, wet, and tired.

The two young men behind her, are a white insurance broker in his twenties and a shabbily dressed coloured youth. The old lady was apprehensive about even standing at the same stop as the coloured youth.

When the bus eventually came, the affluent young white man pushed past the old lady roughly, and got onto the bus. The old lady struggled to lift the luggage onto the bus, and the coloured youth came to her aid, lifting the heavy bags for her. The old lady was so surprised at his action that she could hardly mouth the words 'ThankYou'.

Story Group A :

Example of a story with the subsidiary figure as 'hero' (subsid fig = old lady)

It is Christmas and very cold, the old lady stands at the bus stop; she is very unhappy because the shopping she carries is heavy. The number 9 bus stops, but it stops away from the stop; a young Negro boy helps to carry her parcels on to the bus. When she arrives home the house is cold and she lights the fire. The man who got off the bus at her stop carrying some luggage arrives at the front door.

He knowcks, she smiles and goes to the front door. He smiles and asks the number of the house where Mrs Elsie White lives, she tells him that it is her home; he seems a nice boy.

"Yes" she says "What do you want?".

He looks at her, smiles and says:

"Aunty?. I'm Alfie's boy who went to Australia".

She smiles happily and lets him in. Suddenly Christmas isn't so lonely any more. The first nice one in years.

They laugh as they realize that they didn't know one another as they were standing at the bus stop.

Examples of stories produced by subjects in the 'story' section of Experiment Four.

Story Group A : (involving nurse and white female)

Example of a story with the Nurse as 'hero'

Returning tired from work on her ward, the extremely kind and efficient student nurse Smith, is told that her boyfriend, an impoverished university student will be calling around later.

Realizing that she will have to feed him (and possibly his friends), when he arrives, the nurse quite forgets the fact that her feet are about to drop off, and goes to get suitably nutritious fare from the local supermarket.

Crossing the road is no problem to her, as at the first glimpse of her uniform and her black stockings, motorists are only too pleased to stop and allow her to cross.

At the supermarket she is treated more civilly than other people, by the assistants, shown the best cuts of meat and given 2p off a pound of oranges. After advising one assistant not to worry about her great aunt's operation for trouble with her knees, the nurse returns to find her student boyfriend, and after feeding him (a long process) she settles down to listen to his problems.

Example of a story with the White Female as 'hero'

The nurse had been following her everywhere, all round the supermarket, in each department, and now at last had reached the chickens at the same time as her. She'd never liked nurses, not since that time she'd been in hospital and they had all acted so good and pure, always doing good and generally making one feel very uncomfortable. Well, this one was going just too far - she'd just had enough of them before, acting all pious and good at her, and now to be followed round by one - it was intolerable.

She turned round, shouting at the nurse. People around turned to stare as she ran out of the shop. The nurse followed sadly after her - was there no way she could be helped?. It was so saddening to see a young woman like her acting so carzily because the nurses at her institution tried to help her.

Examples of stories produced by the subjects in the 'story' section of Experiment Four.

Story Group B : (involving Hippy, Businessman and subsid. fig. of hiker)

Example of a story with the Businessman as 'hero'

The man with the briefcase stood quietly and intently. This was the outward appearance. Inside in his mind there were mad irresponsible thoughts of violence and hatred. Was the Hippy in front of him the man who had molested his daughter?. Was the hiker, the vandal who had stolen his car and smashed it up. Was everyone pointing at him and laughing.?

He couldn't answer these questions, he just knew that he had to get out. He couldn't really kill everyone and leave himself alone. Best to do it quickly, there's a fast train due any minute.

The sound of the approaching train grew louder; he summoned the rest of his failing courage and jumped. His whole life flashed before him. About three minutes later, he sat up slightly bruised, and muddy, in the middle of the platform with the hiker and the hippy standing over him.

"Too bad mate, the train went through on the down line".

Example of a story with the Hippy as 'hero'

Mr Jones had had a hard day. There was that outstanding account from Judd, Judd and Princes, which should have been settled by the 1st. It was now the 3rd, and a hot stuffy, tired, endless 3rd at that, and even the office typist seemes more rude than usual. 5 o'clock and time to go home. Thank God for that.

"Excuse me plees (sic)" said a little voice "This train is going to Camden Town?".

Mr Jones looked alarmed.

"Yea man; that's right, isn't it mate" said the dirty figure to Mr Jones.

"I believe so" said Mr Jones.

Really it was too much. After a hard day at the office to be accosted by a foreigner and a hippy. God knows he was a tolerant man, but when this unwashed apparition.....

At this moment a child cries further down the platform. At once the hippy moved off and picked up the little girl, rubbing the bruised leg gently.

"There don't cry", said the great unwashed, and the little girl smiled. Mr Jones felt very unhappy.

"Excuse me"

"Yea Man"

"I wonder if you have a match"

Mr Jones looked at the hippy and the hippy at Mr Jones and a spark of understanding, came between them.

Story Group B :

Example of a story with the subsidiary figure as 'hero' (subsid fig = hiker)

Pat had had one of those normal rows with her parents over staying out late. This time however, she had had enough and had left home. First she hitched a lift from Newcastle and then caught a train from Reading to London—the big city where she was convinced she would find an answer to all her problems. Now she came to the underground station and to her amazement she began to feel very lost and alone. After standing on the platform for a while she began to feel very hungry and began to long for one of Mum's home-made tarts or steak and kidney pies!. Out came a map from the dirty old rucksack into which she had thrown a few useless articles in her fury. She left the station and immediately caught the first available train to Newcastle. What an ordeal!. But at least Pat learned to be a little more content and understanding with her parents. They too learned a lesson after all the worry they had since Pat left.

Examples of Stories produced by the subjects in the 'story' section of Experiment Four.

Story Group B : (involving coloured female, white female and ill person)

Example of a Story with the White Female as 'hero'

Mary came out of the market square and started to walk down the steps. Suddenly to her horror, she saw a woman lying at the base of the steps, and another woman standing looking at her.

"What happened", Mary asked.

"She attacked me" said the standing woman, "so I hit her".

Mary bent to examine the prostrate woman, who groaned and moved a bit. There was a movement behind her, and Mary turned to see the other woman walking up the steps towards the market.

"hey" said Mary, "Don't go away. You can't just leave this woman even if she did attack you, as you say."

The woman ignored her, and Mary turned disgustedly back to the fallen woman.

"Are you all right?", she asked.

The woman had turned over and was attempting to sit up.

"Do you want an ambulance?", Mary said.

"No, I'm all right. Where is that bitch of a negro woman?"

"The one that hit you?. Gone to the market. I asked her to stay, but she walked away."

"Oh did she" exclaimed the woman, "We'll see about that".

"What happened anyway?" asked Mary. "The other woman claimed you attacked her, so she hit you".

"Eh! I like that!. I was walking along minding my own business, when all of a sudden this negro woman pushed past me, so I stumbled against her, and she turned on me and lashed out with her fists. That's the last thing I know".

Before Mary could stop her the woman, heaved herself to her feet, staggered a bit and then stormed off up the steps to the market.

Mary decided that there was nothing she could do.

Story Group : B

Example of a story mentioning the coloured female. (n.b. there is no story with the coloured female as 'hero').

It was a Wednesday morning when Nicky Evans was sent to the supermarket as usual, by her bed-ridden mother. Nicky was only ten years old, and was on her school holidays. She breezed down the street and into the supermarket. She shot round the counters, picking up the goods on her shopping list. When all the shopping was stowed into ten wire baskets, she went to the check-out point to pay the bill. The goods were packed into separate boxes, and Nicky decided that she would have to make several journeys to get it all home. She picked up one extra large box and stepped forward to push the door open. To her surprise however, she found it was an automatic opening one, and she was precipitated, head first down the steps onto the pavement. The box of shopping flew everywhere. Poor Nicky was knocked unconscious, and lay there unknowing on the pavement. As coincidence would have it, Nicky's next door neighbour, Mrs Postlethwaite, was just coming out of the supermarket at the time, and her great friend Mrs Ngombo was about to come in. They both spotted the prostrate Nicky on the pavement, and were horror-struck. However they were both so horrified that they were rivited to the spot. Fortunately for Nicky however, the salesgirl at the till inside the shop had noticed what was happening and had had the intelligence to inform the manager, who in turn called an ambulance. Mrs Postlethwaite and Mrs Ngombo gradually became unrivited and began panicking. Mrs Ngombo flew off to ring Nicky's mother, who was also horror struck, and Nicky was taken off to the hospital where it was found that she was suffering from concussion. Her mother, after this horrible experience made sure that she never sent Nicky out with such a long shopping list again, and Nicky made sure that she didn't shop at supermarkets with automatic opening doors, and steps outside.

Story Group B :

Example of story with the subsidiary figure as 'hero' (subsid. fig = ill person)

Mrs Brown goes to town on Tuesdays to do her shopping for the week. She also gets her weekly prescription filled at the chemists - she has trouble sleeping at night and her doctor has advised her to have some pills to help. This Tuesday, all is not well: her husband has started coming home late from work, saying that he has been doing overtime, but, strangely he looks fresher and happier than before.

Mrs Brown has been going to town every Tuesday for years, but this is how her religion tells her it should be, that this is her calling in life. Only now, Mr Brown is getting along much better at work, and takes little interest in her when he is at home - which is little enough at the best of times - she finds it hard to accept that this is her true calling.

Mrs Brown cannot think of any alternatives as she had always been brought up not to question. So what can she do?.

Mrs Brown decides that there is no point in continuing this existence, and persuades her doctor to give her a month's supply instead of the old arrangement, and this Tuesday she swallows the lot. But she does not think of staying at home and going to rest in a chair or in the garden by a tree. No - she goes to town to do the shopping and finally collapses at the bottom of the steps to the market in front of Mrs Black and Mrs White, who stand there looking on, not knowing what to do for the moment, and then maybe feeling envy.

Examples of stories produced by subjects in the 'story' section of Experiment Four.

Story Group C : (involving policeman and white male)

Example of a story with policeman as 'hero'

P.C. Dobbs had been briefed to keep an eye open for anyone acting suspiciously in the area, because the station had had a tip off about a planned robbery. Everything was quiet as he walked down Carlton Road. There was no one around as he leisurely walked down the road, or that was what he thought. Although the road was normally very well lit, tonight two of the new street lamps had gone out, leaving the road only half lit. Standing under one of the lamps that was not lit, was a very shifty-looking character.

Charlie 'Digger' Rodgers, as he was known, was keeping well out of sight of the police. He had been 'inside' twice before and this time he was determined that the job would come off all right. He was waiting to be picked up by his friends.

Suddenly P.C. Dobbs turned around, thinking that he had heard something. Charlie darted through the darkness towards some bushes. The policeman blew his whistle, and tried to follow him. The patrol cars in the area picked up the man and took him to the station where they managed to find out the details of the robbery, and were able to prevent it.

Example of a story with the White Male as 'hero'

Sid had been jobless for some time even after his graduation from a university. He was getting worried and becoming restless as he was in debt.

One spring morning he decided to take a chance and steal some money. He decided that the best thing would be to wait at an isolated place for some innocent person to come along, and then to rob them of their money. He equipped himself with a knife which he kept in his pocket and waited after dark on a deserted street that had some office buildings on both sides.

Soon he heard some footsteps and he prepared himself to fulfill his task. His heart began to beat faster and he waited anxiously for his would-be victim. However he almost fainted when he saw the blue uniform of a police officer taking a routine walk. Sid realized how close he had come to prison. He thanked his lucky stars and decided that he would rather do honest work which required long hours and low wages, like a policeman's work, rather than do anything illegal. Next day he applied for a labourer's job and went on to become the manager as a result of his policy of hard work and honesty.

Examples of stories produced by subjects in the 'story' section of Experiment Four.

Story Group C: (Involving Model and Nurse)

Example of story with the Model as 'hero'

Eve had everything anyone had ever dreamed of - health, beauty, and the love of an adoring handsome husband. She had thought herself happy in the first few years of her marriage, but gradually she had become aware of a longing for something else, something she could not name. Her husband noticed her listlessness, and attempted to make it up to her by taking her away on a world cruise. Eve returned even more unsatisfied than ever. Since she was alone all day in their elegant but isolated flat, her husband bought her a little dog.

One day she was taking the dog for a walk, when she stumbled across a little boy who had cut his knee. Luckily there was a nurse passing who could attend to it. Eve could not leave them in the street, so she invited them in so that the nurse could attend to it properly. Later they all sat chatting and Eva became aware of a curious feeling of happiness. The nurse was telling her about her own little son who was always running around playing in the street and coming home with cut knees. The nurse was so proud of her son, that Eve began to realize that this was what she had been longing for. She sat there brooding after they both left, and after talking with her husband, they contacted the nurse again, who put them in touch with an adoption agency, and soon after they adopted a child.

Example of a story with the Nurse as 'hero'

Nurse Hopkins was in a good mood, as she sped along doing her rounds, this fine morning in spring. The night before she had been with her 'intended', Harry, to see 'born a Star' at the Middle Hampton Classic, starring the beautiful Leonora Hamilton.

Nurse Hopkins came out of her reverie with a start for there before her, coming down the steps of a stylishly built house was Leonora herself. Nurse Hopkins was overcome with shyness - dare she ask for an autograph?.

Hesitantly she moved towards her. At the same time a young boy who had been running past with a ball, fell heavily. Nurse Hopkins' instinctive reaction was to go to him and bind his knee. As she bent down she heard a voice behind her say -

"For goodness sake, get out of my way", and the beautiful Leonora stepped into her car.

Story Group C :

Example of a story with subsidiary figure as 'hero' (subsid. fig = child)

The boy sat on the uniformly spread gravel. It was like everything else around him, uniform, rigid, and in its way - beautiful. Dimly he could hear the sound of his dear sister walking down the steps, even the sounds were uniform. He had been playing football in front of the house and had tripped suddenly and fallen on his kneess. The shock of the sudden fall, and the first sight of his own blood oozing from a jagged wound on his knee had suprised him. Still playing a role acceptable to the people immediately around him, tough by convention, it did not correpons to his age, the sight of the frailty of his body in control and constituion gave him a sudden fear of violence and action of any kind (sic). And yet mixed with he draad was also ecitement.

But even as he sat he was aware of a new sound. The crunch of feet on the gravel, a sound he did not recognize by the accompanying sounds. He raised his head in direct relevance to his thoughts - he saw his mother's private nurse approaching - the symbol of his protection and security. A new emotion rose in him of alienation and revulsion. As he sat the blood of his body and his whole surroundings were weighed in tha balance. He saw the world as he conceived it, as just one of an infinite number of possibilities. He saw the nurse and his sister communicating on the most superficial level possible - saw that they were as trapped as he was. And he saw the despair, the desolation, the infinity of shifting sand, the loneliness. Thei pedigree dog, scuffed and whimpered on his lead. He felt his own lead tighten around his heart. But not forgotten was the now drying blood on his knee and the exultation and fear that he had felt. To him this was release.

Raw data grouped according to frequency of occurrence on the 7 scalar positions from the twenty subjects making 'objective judgements' in Experiment Four.

Description One								Description Two							
Coloured Male	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	White Male	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Easy Going	0	1	5	3	3	6	2	Shifty	2	3	2	5	6	2	0
Optimistic	0	3	0	6	6	4	1	Selfish	2	2	3	7	4	2	0
Happy	0	0	2	6	4	4	4	Reserved	0	2	1	5	7	5	0
Resigned	3	0	6	2	8	1	0	Arrogant	5	2	3	5	3	2	0
Unassuming	0	5	4	3	5	3	0	Opinionated	2	1	2	2	8	3	2
Open	0	7	5	1	5	1	1	Placid	0	6	7	4	1	0	2
Lively	1	3	6	5	2	3	0	Conservative	0	0	4	7	3	4	2
Strong	0	0	1	4	3	9	3	Weak	0	3	5	4	5	2	1
Shrewd	3	2	4	3	4	2	2	Pensive	0	2	6	5	2	5	0
Religious	0	1	1	6	9	2	1	Content	2	4	6	5	0	3	0
Peaceful	1	2	3	5	5	1	3	Poetical	2	3	2	9	1	2	1
Honest	1	3	2	9	2	0	3	Sad	1	1	2	5	8	3	0
Out going	1	3	4	4	5	2	1	Sober	1	0	1	6	4	7	1
Neat	3	3	4	6	1	2	1	Dreamy	0	4	2	5	5	4	0
Patient	1	3	2	4	4	3	3	Pasionate	4	4	5	3	2	2	0
Expressive	0	4	1	3	6	5	1	Melancholy	1	1	1	6	8	2	1
Generous	0	1	5	3	3	7	1	Worried	3	1	3	5	4	4	0
Enthusiastic	1	2	1	6	5	3	2	Hard	3	5	4	4	4	0	0
Cynical	3	6	2	5	2	2	0	Cynical	4	3	4	4	5	0	0
Independent	2	2	2	4	2	7	1	Surly	2	4	2	8	2	2	0
Unintelligent	3	4	3	7	3	0	0	Indecisive	3	3	6	3	3	2	0
Kind	0	1	3	7	5	2	2	Cross	3	3	6	6	0	1	1
Positive	2	3	3	1	7	2	2	Forceful	2	3	4	6	5	0	0
Emotional	0	3	1	4	9	2	1	Cunning	3	2	6	4	3	2	0
Embittered	5	3	2	6	2	1	1	Wise	2	3	5	1	7	1	1
Sad	3	2	4	10	0	1	0	Lonely	0	1	0	6	9	3	1
Extrovert	2	3	2	3	5	4	1	Intelligent	0	3	1	7	5	4	0
Smug	5	2	9	0	2	1	1	Cautious	2	0	1	4	7	5	1
Happy-go-lucky	3	2	3	2	6	3	1	Jovial	4	7	6	3	0	0	0
Helpful	0	3	2	6	5	3	1	Unkind	3	5	2	7	3	0	0
Proud	3	1	3	2	7	2	2	Honest	0	2	7	5	3	2	1
Determined	3	2	3	2	4	5	1	Ordinary	0	3	0	3	6	6	2
Intelligent	1	4	2	5	1	7	0	Self-Doubting	1	2	1	5	6	5	0
Simple	1	4	2	2	7	4	0	Unfriendly	2	5	1	5	6	1	0
Cunning	2	5	1	6	5	0	1	Tired	1	0	2	2	6	5	4
Friendly	0	1	2	4	6	5	2	Quiet	0	0	3	6	6	3	2
Aggressive	5	5	2	6	0	2	0	Dissatisfied	0	3	5	5	3	4	0
Cultured	1	6	2	7	1	0	3	Cool	0	2	4	7	6	1	0
Confident	1	4	1	3	7	2	2	Lethargic	2	3	3	7	3	2	0
Bussinesslike	2	7	2	4	2	2	1	Shy	1	2	0	8	5	3	1
Leader	4	4	4	3	3	1	1	Kind	1	0	3	10	5	1	0
Pereceptive	2	4	1	4	5	4	0	Unintelligent	5	4	3	5	1	2	0
Paternalistic	1	4	5	1	3	6	0	Dull	4	2	1	6	5	2	0
Good	0	3	2	5	5	3	2	Active	3	7	4	5	1	0	0
Idealistic	3	4	6	5	0	1	1	Mild	1	2	3	4	4	5	1
Sensual	1	1	5	9	2	2	0	Moody	0	7	1	2	4	5	1
Witty	3	8	3	6	0	0	0	Introvert	0	0	4	4	4	5	3
								Unimaginative	1	3	1	6	5	3	1
								Impatient	2	4	8	4	1	1	0
								Mean	4	3	2	7	3	1	0
								Determined	2	1	8	3	5	1	0
								Careful	0	1	1	8	7	3	0
								Cruel	5	3	4	2	6	0	0
								Careless	4	2	7	4	2	1	0

Description Three								Description Four							
Policeman								White Male							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Perceptive	0	2	3	2	3	8	2	Weak	2	2	3	5	1	5	2
Strict	0	0	0	1	8	9	2	Insecure	2	2	2	5	7	1	1
Stern	0	0	0	2	7	8	3	Worried	1	1	4	3	7	1	3
Friendly	0	0	2	8	5	2	3	Vague	0	3	2	5	7	3	0
Helpful	0	0	0	2	8	5	5	Liberal	1	5	0	8	5	1	0
Honest	0	0	1	6	7	2	4	Tough	2	7	3	7	1	0	0
Scrupulous	1	1	3	5	5	4	1	Dull	1	3	3	2	8	1	2
Stupid	3	6	2	5	3	1	0	Passive	0	3	0	4	8	4	1
Patient	0	0	5	5	5	4	1	Impatient	3	4	4	3	5	1	0
Hard	0	2	1	9	7	1	0	Defenceless	2	5	4	4	2	1	2
Determined	0	0	0	3	14	3	0	Arrogant	2	5	0	4	8	1	0
Alert	0	0	0	0	6	6	8	Lazy	2	5	2	7	3	1	0
Capable	0	0	0	0	7	9	4	Forgetful	0	2	3	4	10	1	0
Calm	1	0	0	5	8	4	2	Perceptive	1	2	7	4	3	3	0
Untrustworthy	6	6	6	2	0	0	0	Selfish	1	2	6	1	8	2	0
Grim	4	7	2	5	1	0	1	Unemotional	0	0	3	10	5	2	0
Law abiding	0	0	0	1	7	6	6	Independent	0	2	3	6	5	4	0
Happy	0	1	3	5	9	2	0	Thoughtful	0	1	4	3	5	7	0
Confident	0	0	1	6	7	4	2	Unkind	5	2	6	3	3	1	0
Forthright	1	0	3	2	8	4	2	Dim	2	4	3	7	4	0	0
Cruel	4	4	4	2	3	1	2	Solitary	0	1	1	3	7	7	1
Efficient	0	1	0	3	7	8	1	Unsociable	1	3	1	4	8	2	1
Logical	0	4	2	3	8	3	0	Quiet	0	2	2	1	5	7	3
Nervous	4	6	3	4	3	0	0	Mean	1	3	5	6	4	1	0
Narrow	0	1	6	6	6	1	0	Stable	1	1	6	3	6	1	2
Relaistic	0	0	2	12	5	1	0	Dishonest	3	6	7	2	2	0	0
Dull	1	3	1	6	5	4	0	Violent	4	5	2	5	1	3	0
Domineering	1	3	1	3	9	3	0	Relaxed	3	2	3	6	2	2	2
Suspicious	0	4	3	1	7	4	1	Loyal	0	3	5	3	2	4	3
Quick acting	0	1	1	0	6	10	2	Sly	1	4	7	2	6	0	0
Diplomatic	0	1	4	4	7	3	1	Kind	0	1	6	8	4	1	0
Self Concious	4	5	2	1	3	3	2	Follower	0	1	3	7	7	2	0
Fair	0	1	1	4	11	2	1	Happy	2	5	0	9	1	2	1
Ambitious	0	2	4	5	8	0	1	Sad	1	0	1	6	4	8	0
Strong	0	0	0	4	6	8	2	Optimist	1	6	6	6	1	0	0
Nosey	1	0	3	9	6	1	0	Obstinate	2	2	5	5	6	0	0
Obsessed	4	5	1	4	6	0	0	Stern	0	2	11	5	1	1	0
Worried	1	5	6	4	2	2	0	Determined	0	1	1	5	8	5	0
Unemotional	1	2	4	7	3	3	0	Reserved	0	1	2	10	3	4	0
Weak	8	6	5	0	1	0	0	Moral	1	4	2	3	4	4	2
Accepting	4	5	3	4	3	1	0	Bitter	1	1	4	3	5	3	3
Nasty	3	7	3	1	4	2	0	Tired	1	1	1	6	7	4	0
Masterful	0	3	6	5	5	1	0	Intelligent	1	7	1	5	4	2	0
Sly	4	7	5	2	2	0	0	Slow	1	1	2	4	7	5	0
Practical	0	0	0	6	6	8	0	Disillusioned	0	3	3	4	5	4	1
Intelligent	0	1	2	8	6	3	0	Secretive	0	5	7	5	2	1	0
Inquisitive	0	0	1	4	5	10	0	Far sighted	1	3	5	5	6	0	0
Sociable	0	0	5	7	6	2	0	Active	0	0	4	5	7	4	0
Straight forward	0	2	8	2	4	3	1	Careful	0	3	3	4	3	6	1
Neat	0	1	1	4	3	5	6	Humourless	2	5	9	1	3	0	0
Aggressive	2	7	6	5	0	0	0	Open	0	2	3	4	7	4	0
Severe	0	0	5	5	6	4	0	Unpopular	0	3	3	7	2	5	0
Self satisfied	1	3	4	7	4	1	0	Complex	0	2	2	4	8	3	0
Shallow	5	6	4	2	0	2	0	Careless	5	5	4	5	1	0	0
Open	0	3	6	6	2	3	0								
Conformist	0	0	0	2	3	12	3								
Chauvanist	0	1	2	6	7	4	0								
Prejudiced	0	1	5	6	4	2	2								
Sharp	1	4	3	4	7	0	1								
Secure	0	1	0	6	5	7	1								
Proud	1	1	3	7	5	2	1								

Raw data from Expt, 4, Part two continued:

Description Five	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Description Six	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<u>Hippy</u>								<u>Businessman</u>							
Easy going	0	0	1	1	7	9	2	Self righteous	0	1	2	1	8	6	2
Introspective	2	1	3	4	9	1	0	Reserved	0	0	0	4	7	5	4
Honest	0	6	9	5	0	0	0	Patient	0	0	3	7	8	2	0
Reserved	5	4	7	4	0	0	0	Capable	0	0	0	5	4	10	1
Intelligent	1	3	5	5	5	1	1	Austere	0	1	3	4	6	5	1
Gentle	1	0	6	5	7	1	0	Conscientious	0	0	1	2	6	7	4
Careless	0	1	0	3	5	9	2	Conventional	0	0	0	0	4	5	11
Even tempered	0	0	8	6	5	1	0	Polite	0	1	0	1	6	8	4
Emotional	0	1	2	6	9	2	0	Compromising	1	2	7	7	1	2	0
Kind	0	3	4	9	2	2	0	Demanding	0	1	3	5	9	2	0
Weak	0	0	3	8	4	4	1	Orderly	0	0	1	1	3	11	4
Self doubting	1	3	6	2	3	5	0	Habitual	0	0	0	1	6	9	4
Selfish	0	3	4	4	4	4	1	Independent	0	3	3	6	7	1	0
Arrogant	2	0	2	4	9	2	1	Kind	0	2	4	12	2	0	0
Free	0	1	0	3	7	4	5	Self centred	1	0	6	10	3	0	0
Trusting	1	1	5	5	5	2	1	Logical	0	1	0	7	10	2	0
Unconventional	0	0	1	0	3	6	10	Practical	0	1	3	7	6	3	0
Secretive	2	3	5	7	3	0	0	Objective	0	1	4	5	8	2	0
Egotistical	0	0	2	2	12	4	0	Hard	0	0	2	2	10	3	3
Unaccepted	0	0	0	5	8	4	3	Intelligent	0	0	2	8	4	5	1
Creative	0	1	3	5	7	2	2	Pompous	0	0	0	3	13	2	2
Friendly	0	1	5	5	7	2	0	Stern	0	0	3	5	5	6	1
Atheist	0	0	1	2	3	13	1	Mean	0	2	4	5	7	1	1
Non conforming	0	1	0	2	0	10	7	Unfriendly	0	2	3	9	4	2	0
Cautious	1	6	4	6	3	0	0	Calm	0	1	0	8	8	3	0
Shy	4	6	3	2	2	3	0	Superior	0	0	0	4	11	5	0
Sad	2	2	6	6	2	2	0	Unemotional	1	0	1	4	6	8	0
Insecure	0	0	6	3	6	1	4	Stable	0	1	1	5	8	2	3
Vague	1	1	4	5	2	6	1	Self Assured	0	0	0	5	7	7	1
Lazy	1	1	0	4	5	6	3	Suspicious	2	1	9	5	2	1	0
Liberal	1	0	2	3	3	9	2	Upright	0	0	1	1	9	8	1
Stupid	1	2	4	6	3	3	1	Industrious	0	0	1	7	6	6	0
Intolerant	0	2	4	7	3	4	0	Melancholy	2	2	5	6	3	2	0
Unpolished	1	0	5	3	2	6	3	Worried	0	2	5	8	5	0	0
Lonely	2	3	5	3	4	3	0	Ordinary	0	2	3	8	2	4	1
Confused	0	1	1	6	8	3	1	Dishonest	4	5	4	6	1	0	0
Freakish	0	1	0	0	5	8	6	Domineering	0	3	3	9	4	1	0
Untidy	0	0	0	2	2	10	6	Cold	1	0	1	4	3	8	3
Generous	0	2	4	7	5	2	0	Boring	0	0	3	5	7	1	4
Mystic	0	2	1	6	6	5	0	Disciplined	0	0	2	2	8	5	3
Inexperienced	0	0	6	8	4	1	1	Intolerant	1	1	0	2	9	6	1
Frivolous	1	1	1	8	6	3	0	Open	3	5	5	5	2	0	0
Determined	2	3	4	8	1	2	0	Bigoted	0	0	4	4	9	2	1
Social outcast	1	3	0	3	8	4	2	Ambitious	0	0	0	8	7	5	0
Cruel	8	1	4	7	0	0	0	Affluent	0	0	2	6	6	4	2
Impressionable	1	3	2	5	7	2	0	Determined	0	0	2	7	8	3	0
Extrovert	1	1	0	3	9	5	1	Direct	1	1	2	5	5	6	0
Shallow	0	3	0	7	9	0	1	Weak	1	4	3	2	10	0	0
Sensitive	1	1	5	10	2	1	0	Contented	0	3	7	6	4	0	0
Conformist	7	5	3	5	0	0	0	Resigned	1	3	2	7	1	6	0
Broad minded	0	1	2	4	2	9	2	Leader	0	0	1	9	6	4	0
Interesting	0	3	2	4	8	3	0	Introvert	1	1	2	4	10	2	0
Unfriendly	0	5	3	10	2	0	0	Articulate	0	0	3	6	6	4	1
Searching	0	1	2	5	9	3	0	Resentful	1	1	2	10	4	2	0

Description Seven

<u>Coloured Female</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Carefree	1	1	3	1	10	3	1
Gentle	0	1	2	3	7	6	1
Intelligent	2	0	5	6	7	0	0
Maternal	0	0	7	3	7	3	0
Nice	0	1	1	8	5	2	3
Strong	1	0	6	8	2	3	0
Confident	0	2	4	7	5	2	0
Happy	0	0	1	4	8	6	1
Self contained	0	1	7	4	5	3	0
Kind	0	0	0	7	8	3	2
Open	0	0	2	7	6	4	1
Honest	0	1	5	11	2	0	1
Passive	1	2	6	6	1	4	0
Friendly	0	0	0	8	4	8	0
Natural	0	0	3	2	8	6	1
Unconcerned	1	1	3	2	11	2	0
Perceptive	0	3	7	6	1	0	3
Casual	1	2	4	5	3	5	0
Nervous	2	4	5	8	0	1	0
Unemotional	4	2	9	2	3	0	0
Sexy	0	5	2	7	4	2	0
Good Natured	0	0	2	7	6	5	0
Emotional	0	0	5	4	7	4	0
Accepting	0	1	4	6	4	5	0
Calm	0	1	8	5	5	1	0
Practical	0	1	5	7	5	1	1
Simple	0	0	5	3	5	5	2
Secure	0	7	4	6	2	1	0
Experienced	1	1	5	8	1	4	0
Proud	0	1	2	9	5	3	0
Quick tempered	1	3	1	5	5	5	0
Quick witted	1	9	6	4	0	0	0
Helpful	0	0	9	6	3	2	0
Unintelligent	0	4	4	7	5	0	0
Sad	2	3	6	5	2	1	0
Hard working	0	2	5	6	3	4	0
Deep	3	3	6	5	2	1	0
Good	0	0	5	6	6	3	0
Trendy	1	4	2	12	1	0	0
Beautiful	0	7	4	6	2	1	0
Artistic	0	1	3	4	3	8	1
Young	0	1	0	0	8	6	5
Interesting	0	0	4	9	5	1	1
Worldly	2	6	7	2	0	3	0

Description Eight

<u>White Female</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Shallow	3	3	5	7	2	0	0
Harsh	2	4	5	6	2	1	0
Thoughtful	0	3	1	4	8	1	3
Proud	1	0	1	3	3	12	0
Arrogant	1	2	3	5	5	3	1
Ethereal	0	3	3	3	6	3	2
Sad	1	2	4	5	5	1	2
Shy	1	3	3	7	4	2	0
Stable	0	1	2	7	7	2	1
Cold	0	4	1	3	7	4	1
Academic	0	2	8	5	3	2	0
Sophisticated	0	1	3	3	5	8	0
Neurotic	2	2	5	7	3	1	0
Gentle	2	2	4	3	3	5	1
Dominant	1	4	5	3	4	1	2
Unsure	0	2	6	6	3	3	0
Malicious	4	2	3	6	5	0	0
Aggressive	4	4	5	3	4	0	0
Lazy	4	1	2	9	4	0	0
Unintelligent	2	2	5	7	4	0	0
Mercenary	1	3	4	1	9	2	0
Selfish	1	1	6	5	6	1	0
Caring	1	1	6	8	2	1	1
Weak	1	2	1	4	6	6	0
Intelligent	0	0	3	10	5	2	0
Intolerant	0	3	6	4	6	1	0
Hard	2	3	5	5	3	2	0
Conventional	1	1	1	7	4	4	2
Dull	0	2	5	4	4	1	4
Young	0	0	3	1	8	6	2
Stubborn	1	1	2	9	2	5	0
Bitshy	0	2	6	5	3	4	0
Untidy	2	5	6	6	1	0	0
Self Centred	1	0	3	7	7	2	0
Passive	0	5	2	3	2	6	2
Moody	0	1	3	3	5	6	2
Wealthy	0	2	3	7	7	1	0
Introvert	0	1	2	6	4	7	0
Disillusioned	0	5	5	5	4	0	1
Simple	2	3	7	3	3	0	2
Controlled	0	2	2	5	8	2	1
Tense	0	2	4	5	6	2	1
Attractive	0	0	3	5	9	3	0
Steadfast	1	1	2	7	8	1	0
Dreamy	0	2	4	1	2	6	5
Narrow	0	1	6	10	0	2	1
Secretive	0	2	0	9	3	6	0
Impatient	1	2	7	5	3	1	1
Witty	6	2	7	3	1	1	0
Vain	3	1	2	5	3	6	0
Experienced	1	6	2	3	5	3	0
Extrovert	4	4	0	9	2	1	0
Tidy	0	1	2	7	5	4	1
Calm	0	0	3	4	7	5	1
Unartistic	1	2	10	5	2	0	0
Unfriendly	1	2	5	6	3	2	1

Description Nine

Nurse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Humble	0	2	4	7	6	1	0
Gentle	0	0	1	0	3	10	6
Generous	1	0	0	4	8	2	5
Honest	0	0	0	6	1	10	3
Patient	0	0	0	0	5	3	12
Dedicated	0	0	0	0	1	3	16
Hard working	0	0	0	0	2	8	10
Kind	0	0	0	2	9	5	4
Dull	0	0	6	10	3	1	0
Pleasant	0	1	2	5	10	2	0
Friendly	0	2	0	2	7	8	1
Simple	0	3	7	6	3	1	0
Practical	0	0	0	1	6	8	5
Sympathetic	0	1	0	1	6	9	3
Resourceful	0	0	2	5	8	4	1
Unintelligent	1	10	3	5	1	0	0
Capable	0	0	3	1	8	6	2
Narrow	3	3	5	1	5	3	0
Intelligent	0	0	0	9	9	2	0
Happy	1	0	0	8	5	5	1
Thoughtful	0	1	0	6	1	3	9
Cool	0	0	1	3	11	4	1
Stern	1	0	4	5	9	0	1
Sad	2	4	2	9	2	1	0
Active	0	0	1	4	4	5	6
Working class	0	0	6	9	4	1	0
Submissive	1	4	3	10	2	0	0
Efficient	0	1	0	0	5	5	9
Worried	2	2	4	5	6	1	0
Busy	0	0	2	1	8	3	6
Unsociable	1	6	6	4	2	0	1
Quiet	0	1	8	2	0	9	0
Maternal	0	1	1	4	11	1	2
Immature	1	9	1	6	0	3	0
Shy	3	3	5	5	2	2	0
Neat	0	0	0	0	5	6	9
Mellow	0	2	5	8	5	0	0
Sexless	1	0	4	5	4	6	0
Satisfied	0	2	3	8	5	2	0
Passive	0	3	4	6	6	1	0
Firm	0	0	0	7	5	8	0
Tired	0	1	2	4	6	7	0
Ambitious	0	4	6	6	4	0	0
Extrovert	1	2	3	11	3	0	0
Determined	0	0	2	4	11	3	0
Soft spoken	0	0	2	5	8	5	0
Interesting	0	3	5	11	1	0	0
Weak	3	7	9	1	0	0	0
Natural	0	1	3	9	4	3	0

Description Ten

White Female	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Selfish	0	1	1	5	5	8	0
Aggressive	1	1	7	4	3	2	2
Hard	1	3	2	7	5	2	0
Dreamy	0	2	3	5	5	4	1
Alert	0	2	8	6	4	0	0
Kind	0	1	5	8	4	2	0
Calculating	1	0	0	2	9	8	0
Quiet	0	2	6	5	4	1	2
Sad	0	2	2	7	3	4	2
Detached	0	0	2	5	7	5	1
Active	1	2	6	4	6	0	1
Sophisticated	2	3	1	6	5	3	0
Cunning	1	2	5	6	4	2	0
Lazy	1	1	2	10	2	3	1
Cold	1	1	2	2	9	3	2
Intelligent	0	0	1	10	6	3	0
Vicious	1	6	4	2	2	3	2
Thoughtful	0	0	3	4	5	8	0
Aloof	0	1	0	2	9	4	4
Sleepy	0	6	3	2	5	3	1
Weak	2	7	3	2	3	3	0
Proud	0	0	2	9	6	2	1
Moody	0	0	6	1	9	3	1
Unsympathetic	1	2	4	4	3	5	1
Dull	0	2	4	8	5	1	0
Introvert	0	1	2	5	5	7	0
Reflective	0	1	1	3	5	10	0
Sheltered	0	3	4	6	2	3	2
Cheerful	0	6	5	7	2	0	0
Sociable	1	1	5	2	6	5	0
Independent	0	1	0	2	9	7	1
Impractical	0	0	8	5	4	3	0
Insecure	0	2	6	7	5	0	0
Single minded	0	5	4	9	2	0	0
Tidy	0	0	4	3	9	4	0
Artistic	1	0	1	7	6	3	2
Secure	0	3	2	9	4	2	0
Confident	0	0	4	1	9	6	0
Impatient	0	2	3	3	8	3	0
Shy	0	3	6	3	6	2	0
Interesting	0	0	4	10	4	1	1
Sensitive	1	1	3	6	5	1	2
Unfriendly	0	0	5	2	3	5	5
Immature	0	1	9	5	4	1	0
Feminine	0	2	5	4	5	3	1
Demanding	0	0	2	5	4	8	1

Description Eleven								Description Twleve							
Nurse								Model							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kind	1	0	2	0	7	8	2	Sophisticated	0	0	0	0	6	8	6
Humble	0	2	6	3	7	2	0	Relaxed	0	3	1	6	7	3	0
Quiet	0	1	1	10	6	2	0	Vain	0	0	3	1	9	3	4
Easy going	0	3	3	5	6	3	0	Cold	0	0	2	5	7	3	2
Caring	0	0	0	5	4	10	1	Dreamer	0	3	4	4	6	3	0
Tired	0	0	1	8	11	0	0	Ambitious	0	0	0	1	5	12	2
Simple	0	3	7	7	3	0	0	Fashionable	0	0	1	1	2	3	13
Practical	0	0	0	2	10	8	0	Snooty	0	0	0	2	6	7	5
Honest	0	0	0	4	4	11	1	Flirtatious	0	0	2	7	6	4	1
Pleasant	0	0	1	2	6	6	5	High class	0	0	3	5	7	2	3
Intelligent	0	0	0	9	8	3	0	False	0	0	0	2	5	5	6
Dependable	0	0	0	1	5	12	2	Malleable	2	1	6	5	1	5	0
Gentle	0	1	0	2	7	5	5	Hard	0	0	2	2	5	6	5
Authoritative	0	0	3	6	2	8	1	Complacent	0	0	3	5	5	7	0
Common sensical	0	0	2	4	8	2	4	Selfish	0	0	0	5	7	7	1
Dedicated	0	0	0	1	5	7	7	Forward	0	0	3	7	3	4	3
Useful	0	0	0	9	4	2	5	Extrovert	0	0	1	5	7	2	5
Calm	0	0	0	4	7	6	3	Sad	0	5	5	8	1	0	1
Sympathetic	0	0	0	2	8	6	4	Sour	0	1	3	10	4	2	0
Efficient	0	0	0	3	4	6	7	Stupid	0	3	5	8	3	1	0
Serious	0	0	1	8	5	6	0	Reserved	0	3	5	9	2	1	0
Optimist	0	0	4	5	8	2	1	Tired	2	4	1	6	7	0	0
Stern	0	0	3	10	5	1	1	Bitchy	0	1	3	0	5	10	1
Unconfident	0	4	10	6	0	0	0	Sociable	0	0	3	4	10	2	1
Dull	0	2	7	9	1	1	0	Lively	1	0	1	5	4	7	2
Tidy	0	0	2	7	3	6	2	Mercenary	1	1	2	0	9	4	3
Submissive	0	3	5	5	2	3	2	Flippant	0	1	2	10	5	2	0
Active	0	0	0	5	9	6	0	Confident	0	0	0	2	5	9	4
Resentful	3	4	6	3	3	1	0	Self opinionated	1	1	0	2	8	5	3
Unsophisticated	1	2	3	6	5	3	0	Nervous	1	3	4	11	1	0	0
Unemotional	0	5	5	3	6	1	0	Scatter brain	1	3	3	6	3	4	0
Eager to please	0	2	1	8	6	3	0	Likable	2	1	5	11	1	0	0
Friendly	0	1	0	5	9	5	0	Weak	2	7	6	4	1	0	0
Shy	0	4	6	2	5	3	0	Kind	1	4	8	7	0	0	0
Ordinary	1	0	5	9	4	1	0	Charming	0	0	1	4	11	3	1
Hard working	0	0	0	2	6	8	4	Domineering	0	2	1	6	10	0	1
Modest	0	0	1	8	10	1	0	Disillusioned	0	2	1	13	4	0	0
Patient	1	0	1	0	6	6	6	Unfriendly	0	1	7	6	3	2	1
Strong	0	2	0	5	3	8	2	Devious	1	0	5	10	2	1	1
Interested	0	1	1	6	8	4	0	Showy	0	3	0	1	9	7	0
Real	0	0	4	8	3	5	0	Intolerant	0	1	3	7	5	4	0
Ambitious	0	1	5	8	5	1	0	Erratic	0	2	3	5	4	3	1
Introvert	0	2	5	8	2	3	0	Decadent	1	2	0	6	9	2	0
								Impractical	0	2	2	3	4	9	0
								Affected	0	0	1	3	7	6	3
								Feminine	0	1	1	8	5	3	2
								Lazy	0	2	5	8	4	1	0
								Cynical	0	1	4	5	9	1	0
								Polite	0	2	8	7	2	1	0

On the following pages are the photographs that were presented to the subjects in experiment four, as stimuli for the 'construct' and 'story' sections.

'Construct' Section

The stimuli figures were presented as pairs; from left to right, for each pair, the stimuli figures are:-

White Male / Coloured Male

White Male / Policeman

Businessman / Hippy

White Female / Coloured Female

White Female / Nurse

Model / Nurse

'Story' Section

Two drawn situations were presented to each subject. There were three pairs of situations.

Group A

Bus Stop scene (involving coloured male and white male)

Supermarket Scene (involving nurse and white female)

Group B

Train Scene (involving hippy and businessman)

'Accident' Scene (involving white female and coloured female)

Group C

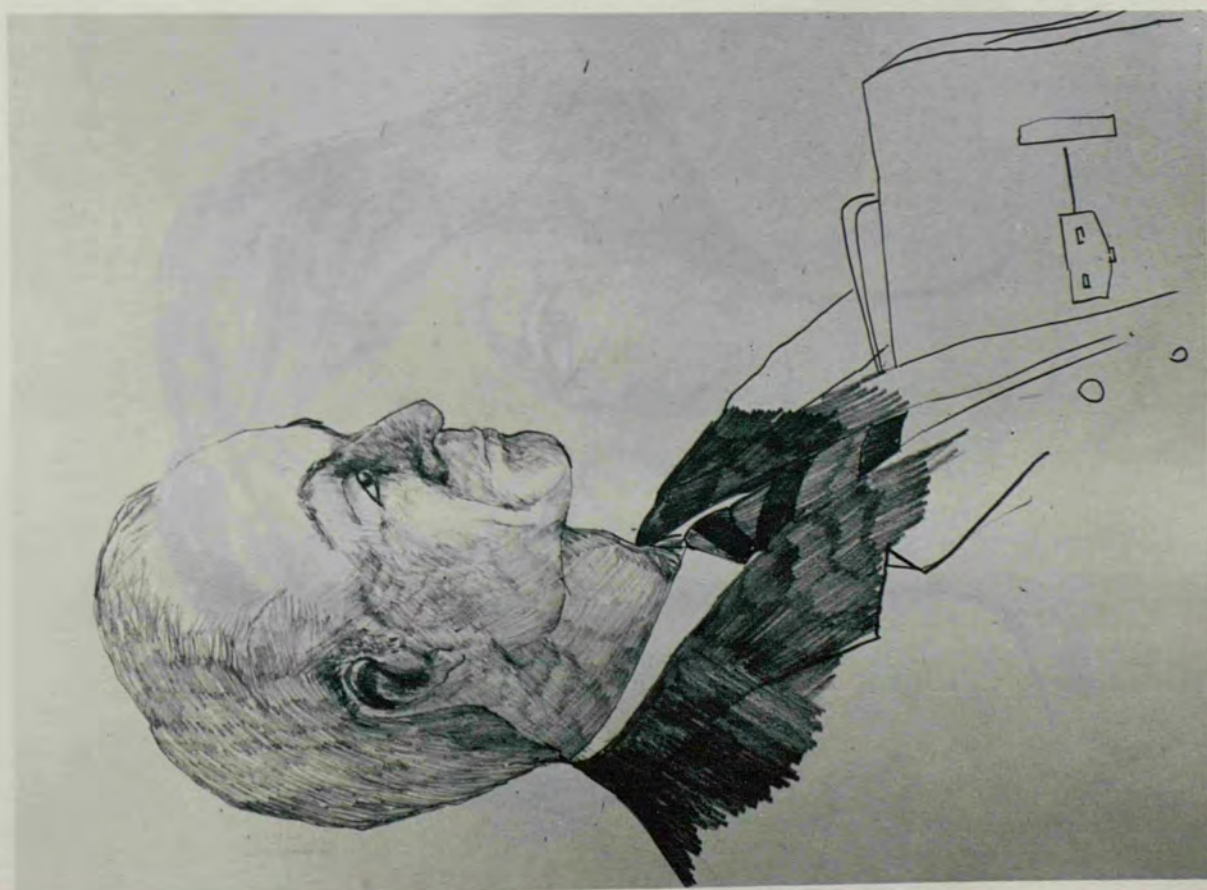
Street Scene (involving white male and policeman)

'Accident' scene (involving model and nurse)

N.B. Subjects were presented with full size (A4) photographs, but for the purposes of presentation here, they have been reduced in size.







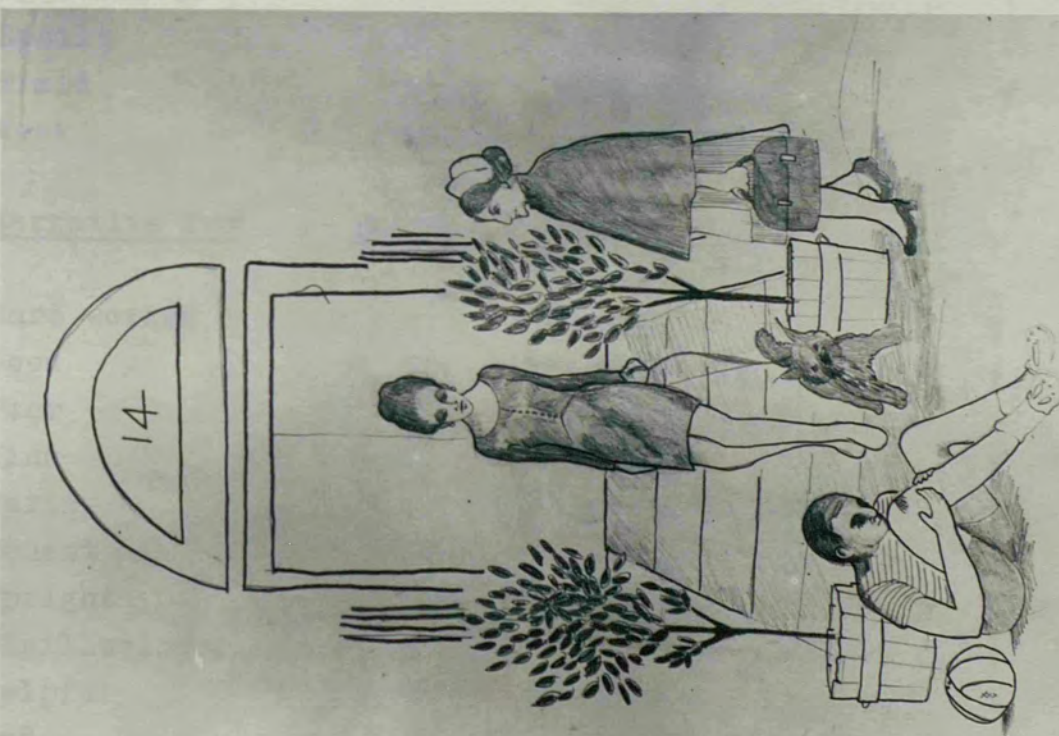












Adjectives produced by the subjects, for the stimulus figures during the 'story' section of the experiment. (Numbers alongside each adjective refers to frequency of production)

Narrative One : COLOURED MALE

Helpful	3	Working Class	1
Timid	2	Miserable	1
Aware of Prejudice	1	Out of work	1
Tired	1	Regretful	1
Young	1	Sad about Britain	1
Self Concious	1	Bored	1
Cheerful	1	Poor	1
Kind	1	Resentful	1

Narrative One : WHITE MALE

Frustrated	2	Indifferent	1
Complaining	2	Nonchalant	1
Loutish	2	Disappointed	1
Unhelpful	2	Lonely	1
Discouraged	2	Prejudiced	1
Bitter	1	Helpful	1
Aggressive	1	Businesslike	1
Spoilt	1	Purposeless	1
Timid	1	Miserable	1
Weak	1		

Narrative Two : NURSE

Hard worked	5	Active	1
Good	3	Ambitious	1
Poor	3	Intimidated	1
Kind	3	Young	1
Caring	2	Considerate	1
Honest	1	Friendly	1
Upright	1	Hygenic	1
Disillusioned	2	Determined	1
Helpful	1	Spinster	1
Sad	1	Family Oriented	1
Just	1	Tired	1
Independant	1	Middle Aged	1
Interesting	1		

Adjectives produced in the 'story' section, continued:-Narrative Two : White Female

Friendly	3	Austere	1
Middle Class	2	Selfish	1
Helpful	2	Snooty	1
Uninvolved	1	Argumentative	1
Resentful	1		

Narrative Three : HIPPY

Lazy	3	Idealist	1
Dubious Character	3	Hedonistic	1
Relaxed	1	Regretful	1
Helpful	1	Escapist	1
'Unwashed'	1	Deceitful	1
Kind	1	Calculating	1
Fashionable	1	Peace Loving	1

Narrative Three : BUSINESSMAN

Resentful of Young	3	Upper Class	1
Orderly	4	Elderly	1
Urbane	1	Smart	1
Habitual	1	Curt	1
Unconcerned	1	Aggressive	1
Tired	1	Stuffy	1
Determined	1	Uncommunicative	1
Disciplined	1	Hypersensitive	1
Intolerant	1	Irresponsible	1
Petty	1	Feels persecuted	1
Bored	1	Formal	1
Conformist	1		

Narrative Four : COLOURED FEMALE

Uncaring	2	Worried	1
Ordinary	1	Aggressive	1
Advising	1	Ineffectual	1
Over bearing	1	Unhelpful	1
Fearful	1	Helpful	1

Adjectives produced in the 'story' section, continued:-Narrative Four : White Female

Helpful	3	Officious	1
Unhelpful	1	Slow witted	1
Dim	1	Quick witted	1
Gossipy	1		

Narrative Five : MODEL

Kind	4	Young	1
Callous	3	Considerate	1
Helpful	3	Nasty	1
Unsympathetic	3	Guilty	1
Proud	3	Angry	1
Elegant	3	Dissatisfied	1
Sophisticated	2	Listless	1
Unconcerned	2	Unhappy	1
Beautiful	2	Careless	1
Self Conscious	1	Impatient	1
Fun Loving	1	Affected	1
Dull	1	Irresponsible	1

Narrative Five : NURSE

Helpful	5	Reassuring	1
Dutiful	4	Protective	1
Kind	3	Secure	1
Friendly	3	Family Oriented	1
Caring	2	Child Loving	1
Crisp	1	Coy	1
Determined	1	Advising	1
Unsmiling	1	Warm hearted	1
Silly	1	Responsive	1
Unnâting	1	Unhelpful	1
Well Liked	1	Happy	1
Hard worked	1	Sad	1

Narrative Six : POLICEMAN

Alert	5	Habitual	1
Suspicious	5	Helpful	1

...see over

Adjectives produced in the 'story' section, continued:Narrative Six : POLICEMAN Continued

Observant	1	Disappointed	1
Aware	1	Slow	1
Ambitious	1	Dutiful	1
Authoritative	1	Steady	1
Crass	1	Reliable	1
Unobservant	1	Curious	1
Nervous	1	Big	1
Unhappy	1		

Narrative Six : WHITE MALE

Shifty	4	Trouble Maker	1
Lazy	2	Distressed	1
Furtive	2	Jealous	1
Bored	2	Wary	1
Fearful	2	Cold	1
Aggressive	2	Calm	1
Worried	2	Restless	1
Dreamy	1	Young	1
Romantic	1	Unhappy	1
Violent	1	Impatient	1
Unreliable	1		

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the three sets of subjects in Experiment Five.

BLACK PERSON

Stupid _____ Intelligent

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Reliable _____ Unreliable

Reserved _____ Outgoing

EXPERIMENT FIVE

Medical _____ Unmedical

Dishonest _____ Honest

Colorless _____ Colored

Dirty _____ Clean

Timid _____ Proud

Religious _____ Irreligious

Sophisticated _____ Naive

Talkative _____ Taciturn

Affected _____ Natural

Hard working _____ Lazy

Happy _____ Sad

Sensitive _____ Insensitive

Copy of the questionnaire presented to the three sets of subjects in Experiment Five.

BLACK PERSON

Stupid	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Intelligent
Pleasant	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unpleasant
Reliable	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unreliable
Reserved	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Outgoing
Musical	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unmusical
Dishonest	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Honest
Colourless	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Colourful
Dirty	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Clean
Humble	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Proud
Religious	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Irreligious
Sophisticated	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Naive
Talkative	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Taciturn
Affected	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Natural
Hard working	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Lazy
Happy	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Sad
Sensitive	_ _ _ _ _ _ _	Insensitive

WHITE PERSON

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POLICEMAN

Stupid	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Intelligent
Pleasant	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unpleasant
Reliable	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unreliable
Efficient	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Inefficient
Helpful	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unhelpful
Lazy	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Hard working
Dedicated	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Uncommitted
Adventurous	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unadventurous
Strong	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Weak
Staid	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Eccentric
Rugged	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Delicate
Precise	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Imprecise
Sophisticated	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Naive
Colourful	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Colourless
Stable	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Changable
Kind	_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _	Unkind

MODEL

Stupid _____ Intelligent

Pleasant _____ Unpleasant

Reliable _____ Unreliable

Efficient _____ Inefficient

Helpful _____ Unhelpful

Lazy _____ Hard working

Dedicated _____ Uncommitted

Adventurous _____ Unadventurous

Strong _____ Weak

Staid _____ Eccentric

Rugged _____ Delicate

Precise _____ Imprecise

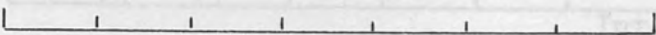
Sophisticated _____ Naive

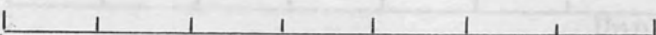
Colourful _____ Colourless

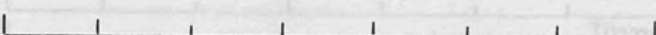
Stable _____ Changable


Kind _____ Unkind


HIPPY


Stupid  Intelligent


Pleasant  Unpleasant


Reliable  Unreliable


Smart  Shabby


Clean  Dirty


Conventional  Unconventional


Poor  Rich


Hard working  Lazy


Precise  Imprecise


Excitable  Reserved


Staid  Eccentric

Sophisticated  Naive

Greedy  Generous

Artistic  Unartistic

Follower  Leader

Happy  Sad

BUSINESSMAN

Stupid  Intelligent

Pleasant  Unpleasant

Reliable  Unreliable

Smart  Shabby

Clean  Dirty

Conventional  Unconventional

Poor  Rich

Hard working  Lazy

Precise  Imprecise

Excitable  Reserved

Staid  Eccentric

Sophisticated  Naive

Greedy  Generous

Artistic  Unartistic

Follower  Leader

Happy  Sad

RACIAL CATEGORIES :- BLACK PERSON

	School Population							Technical Col. Pop.							Student population							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Stupid / Intellig.	1	0	4	8	23	7	0	0	0	2	7	16	6	3	1	1	0	2	17	0	3	1
Pleasant / Unpleasant	0	4	8	16	4	2	1	1	0	1	10	11	3	0	0	1	6	5	9	3	0	0
Reliable / Unreliable	0	1	9	16	7	1	1	4	2	4	2	21	3	2	1	0	0	3	10	8	2	1
Reserved / Outgoing	1	4	6	11	2	7	4	1	1	2	7	8	7	6	4	1	2	2	8	3	7	1
Musical / Unmusical	5	10	6	9	2	2	1	0	8	8	7	3	5	1	3	10	5	0	5	1	2	1
Honest / Dishonest	1	2	2	17	6	7	0	1	1	0	4	23	5	2	0	0	0	4	15	3	1	1
Colourful / Col. less	14	7	0	8	3	2	1	1	14	4	6	8	1	1	1	10	5	4	5	0	0	0
Dirty / Clean	2	1	4	11	9	6	2	2	2	1	9	13	4	4	2	0	0	5	11	4	1	4
Humble / Proud	2	7	8	7	3	6	2	2	1	6	7	4	9	3	5	0	1	1	7	4	9	2
Religious / Irrelig.	12	9	5	6	2	0	1	1	13	6	5	3	3	2	3	1	7	3	10	0	3	0
Sophisticated / Naive	0	3	6	13	6	7	0	1	1	2	3	17	6	3	3	0	1	3	10	7	3	0
Talkative / Taciturn	1	9	8	11	5	1	0	1	6	11	7	5	2	4	0	2	5	7	7	1	1	1
Affected / Natural	2	2	2	9	8	6	6	1	1	1	3	10	7	9	4	0	1	1	6	6	8	2
Lazy / H. Working	9	2	11	8	2	4	1	1	8	11	4	8	4	0	0	2	2	3	13	3	1	0
Happy / Sad	4	6	10	13	2	0	0	0	8	12	9	6	0	0	0	1	3	12	7	1	0	0
Sensitive / Insensitive	7	8	8	10	1	1	0	1	4	5	14	10	2	0	0	2	9	5	6	2	0	0

Raw data, grouped according to frequency of endorsement of the 7 scalar positions, produced by the three subject populations in experiment five.

RACIAL CATEGORIES :- WHITE PERSON

	School Population							Technical Col. Pop.							Student population						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid / Intellig.	0	1	0	12	12	6	4	0	1	3	5	12	10	4	0	0	3	14	2	4	1
Pleasant / Unpleasant	2	7	10	11	1	3	1	1	6	7	8	9	4	0	1	2	7	9	5	0	0
Reliable / Unreliable	0	10	6	17	2	0	0	0	5	6	13	6	3	2	0	4	7	10	2	1	0
Reserved / Outgoing	2	5	7	12	3	6	0	2	2	4	7	8	9	3	3	6	8	4	2	1	0
Musical / Unmusical	3	4	3	14	5	6	0	4	8	5	9	4	5	0	0	3	2	13	4	2	0
Honest / Dishonest	0	2	1	13	14	4	1	0	0	8	13	5	6	3	0	0	1	11	8	4	0
Colourful / Col. less	1	5	6	9	7	4	3	2	2	7	15	5	2	2	0	1	3	5	10	4	1
Dirty / Clean	0	0	0	4	10	13	8	1	0	3	7	3	14	9	0	0	1	7	7	9	0
Humble / Proud	0	0	2	11	7	11	4	0	1	0	2	5	17	9	0	0	1	7	7	5	4
Religious / Irrelig.	1	4	9	11	9	1	0	1	7	3	12	8	4	0	0	0	4	12	5	2	1
Sophisticated / Naive	1	3	8	19	4	0	0	2	6	8	12	7	0	0	1	2	7	9	5	0	0
Talkative / Taciturn	0	14	10	6	1	0	4	3	14	7	4	3	3	1	0	2	3	5	9	5	0
Affected / Natural	3	4	1	12	8	3	4	1	4	13	6	3	3	5	1	6	9	6	1	1	0
Lazy / H. Working	3	5	8	13	4	2	0	1	5	8	14	5	2	0	0	1	8	8	4	3	0
Happy / Sad	2	11	12	9	0	1	0	1	9	10	13	2	0	0	0	2	6	12	4	0	0
Sensitive / Insensitive	1	8	9	13	2	2	0	3	12	14	2	3	1	0	0	2	6	12	4	0	0

Raw data, grouped according to frequency of endorsement of the 7 scalar positions, produced by the three subject populations in experiment five.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES :- NURSE

	School Population							Technical col. pop.							Student Population						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid / Intellig.	0	1	0	0	2	9	23	1	1	2	0	5	18	8	0	0	2	3	10	7	2
Pleasant / Unpleasant	17	13	4	0	0	1	0	11	16	5	1	0	1	1	3	8	9	1	2	1	0
Reliable / Unreliable	15	16	2	0	0	2	0	13	16	4	1	0	0	1	8	12	3	0	0	1	0
Efficient / Inefficient	19	11	3	0	0	2	0	6	22	4	2	1	0	0	7	14	3	0	0	0	0
Helpful / Unhelpful	23	8	2	1	0	0	1	20	10	3	1	0	0	1	5	14	4	1	0	0	0
Lazy / H. Working	1	0	1	0	1	12	20	0	3	1	0	5	15	11	0	0	0	1	3	8	12
Dedicated / Uncommitted	18	11	3	2	0	1	0	8	15	6	6	0	0	0	7	10	5	1	0	0	1
Strong / Weak	2	10	9	9	3	1	1	2	7	8	7	5	5	1	0	5	3	12	1	3	0
Staid / Eccentric	4	9	10	11	0	1	0	1	9	10	10	1	4	0	4	6	6	6	2	0	0
Rugged / delicate	8	4	7	12	1	3	0	5	8	7	15	2	2	1	1	6	5	12	0	0	0
Precise / Imprecise	1	3	6	8	3	11	3	0	3	6	9	4	9	4	0	0	1	16	1	1	0
Adventurous / Unadven.	9	17	3	4	1	1	0	3	15	8	6	1	2	0	3	10	7	3	1	0	0
Sophisticated / Naive	1	8	6	15	3	1	1	1	1	11	11	6	1	0	0	1	8	12	3	0	0
Stable / Changable	2	3	6	10	10	4	0	2	8	10	9	2	2	2	0	0	3	8	6	1	1
Colourful / Col. less	3	8	13	4	3	3	1	3	10	11	3	4	3	1	0	0	15	4	0	0	0
Kind / Unkind	24	9	0	2	0	0	0	17	7	10	1	0	0	0	7	8	5	4	0	0	0

Raw data for the three populations in experiment five continued.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES :- POLICEMAN

	School Population							Technical col. pop.							Student Population						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid / Intellig.	2	2	1	0	4	8	18	3	4	3	7	8	7	7	3	4	1	8	8	4	1
Pleasant / Unpleasant	2	7	7	11	1	6	2	1	3	7	8	7	5	4	0	1	0	3	1	1	0
Reliable / Unreliable	14	10	2	3	1	3	2	3	11	6	6	4	2	3	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
Efficient / Inefficient	13	10	5	1	3	1	2	6	6	11	4	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
Helpful / Unhelpful	20	7	4	2	1	0	1	6	12	9	5	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
Lazy / H. Working	1	1	3	0	8	12	10	3	3	5	7	7	7	3	0	4	0	7	6	7	4
Dedicated / Uncommitted	10	8	9	5	1	0	2	4	6	11	7	3	4	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Strong / Weak	7	11	7	5	1	1	3	5	5	9	8	3	4	1	0	0	0	7	2	1	0
Staid / Eccentric	17	12	1	2	0	2	1	6	13	11	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
Rugged / delicate	1	8	12	11	1	2	0	6	9	7	7	4	1	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
Precise / Imprecise	7	8	9	7	1	0	2	8	7	12	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Adventurous / Unadven.	5	10	7	11	1	0	1	2	13	10	7	2	1	0	0	0	0	7	3	0	0
Sophisticated / Naive	0	9	6	19	0	1	0	3	1	6	19	4	2	0	0	0	0	19	2	0	0
Stable / Changeable	0	2	5	16	5	6	1	1	6	8	6	3	4	7	0	0	3	9	9	0	1
Colourful / Col. less	4	6	9	6	6	3	1	3	5	7	8	8	3	1	2	11	8	2	1	0	0
Kind / Unkind	6	14	10	2	1	0	2	2	6	8	7	7	4	7	1	8	9	5	0	1	0

Raw data for the three populations in experiment five continued.

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES 1- MODEL

	School Population							Technical col. pop.							Student Population						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid / Intellig.	0	1	6	8	7	5	8	1	3	10	8	6	4	3	1	3	7	11	2	0	0
Pleasant / Unpleasant	6	5	8	8	5	2	1	6	9	11	5	2	2	0	0	3	3	8	7	3	0
Reliable / Unreliable	2	4	9	10	6	2	2	3	2	5	12	7	5	1	0	2	6	5	6	5	0
Efficient / Inefficient	3	5	10	10	4	2	1	3	5	11	7	6	2	1	1	4	5	9	4	1	0
Helpful / Unhelpful	1	4	6	16	6	1	1	1	9	4	6	1	8	6	0	0	4	12	6	2	0
Lazy / H. Working	2	3	2	4	11	9	4	7	8	6	7	2	3	2	0	0	3	5	5	9	2
Dedicated / Uncommitted	4	9	11	2	6	2	1	11	8	9	2	2	0	3	3	6	4	4	3	4	0
Strong / Weak	9	4	11	5	3	2	1	0	4	2	7	10	8	4	3	12	3	4	1	1	0
Staid / Eccentric	1	2	1	19	6	3	3	0	4	6	11	8	4	2	1	3	7	8	4	1	0
Rugged / delicate	1	0	2	15	8	6	3	1	2	4	8	4	11	5	0	0	2	4	8	10	0
Precise / Imprecise	0	0	4	4	3	14	10	1	3	8	12	7	4	0	1	0	2	8	8	3	2
Adventurous / Unadven.	3	6	0	16	7	2	1	2	11	7	10	2	3	0	1	1	3	13	1	3	0
Sophisticated / Naive	4	3	8	10	4	2	4	10	12	6	4	0	1	2	11	6	2	4	0	1	0
Stable / Changable	14	11	1	4	2	2	1	3	4	8	12	5	3	0	8	7	4	3	1	0	1
Colourful / Col. less	1	4	2	13	11	3	1	1	3	5	5	8	11	2	0	0	0	2	7	12	3
Kind / Unkind	2	1	13	16	1	2	0	7	2	5	6	1	8	6	0	1	2	19	1	1	0

Raw data for the three populations in experiment five continued.

DRESS / OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES :- BUSINESSMAN

	School Population							Technical college Pop							Student Population						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid / Intellig.	0	1	1	1	0	12	20	0	1	0	1	3	16	14	0	2	0	1	9	11	1
Pleasant/ Unpleasant	2	5	8	9	6	3	2	1	3	6	10	9	4	2	0	0	2	12	9	1	0
Reliable / Unreliable	6	9	8	4	3	5	0	6	11	5	6	4	3	0	3	5	9	2	1	3	1
Smart / Shabby	20	13	2	0	0	0	0	14	16	4	0	0	0	1	4	14	3	1	1	0	1
Clean / Dirty	21	10	3	0	1	0	0	17	15	2	0	0	1	0	6	10	4	3	0	1	0
Conventional / Unconven.	11	6	5	10	1	1	1	7	12	6	8	0	2	0	12	9	1	1	1	0	0
Poor / Rich	4	0	2	0	6	13	10	1	1	3	1	4	20	5	0	0	0	2	8	12	2
Lazy / H. Working	7	11	9	4	0	2	2	1	9	7	11	5	2	0	3	6	9	5	0	1	0
Precise / Imprecise	10	8	10	4	1	2	0	6	8	12	7	2	0	0	4	11	7	2	0	0	0
Excited / Reserved	2	1	8	13	2	7	2	2	3	6	8	4	10	2	0	0	1	8	7	7	1
Staid / Eccentric	6	2	3	18	1	4	1	1	11	7	7	5	3	1	3	7	10	4	0	0	0
Sophisticated / Naive	9	6	7	10	3	0	0	3	9	16	4	3	0	0	1	10	11	2	0	0	0
Greedy / Generous	3	6	4	11	4	4	3	8	7	8	11	0	1	0	2	5	10	7	9	10	2
Artistic / Unartistic	2	2	2	17	8	6	1	0	2	5	10	7	10	2	0	0	0	3	9	8	2
Follower / Leader	2	5	8	12	5	3	0	0	0	3	7	19	12	4	0	0	4	13	7	0	0

Raw data for the three populations in experiment five continued.

DRESS / OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES : Happy

	School Population							Technical college Pop							Student Population						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Stupid / Intellig.	11	4	5	11	2	1	1	2	4	3	9	9	7	1	0	1	5	0	8	3	1
Pleasant / Unpleasant	0	2	8	13	5	3	4	3	4	6	13	5	7	8	0	1	5	7	3	0	2
Reliable / Unreliable	0	0	0	5	14	7	9	0	2	3	9	7	6	15	0	0	0	4	10	9	4
Smart / Shabby	0	0	0	1	6	7	21	1	0	1	1	2	9	15	0	0	0	1	12	9	7
Clean / Dirty	0	0	0	3	9	9	14	0	0	3	6	8	8	10	0	0	0	0	4	5	13
Conventional / Unconven.	3	2	0	12	2	7	9	4	0	1	7	1	11	15	0	0	4	0	4	7	1
Poor / Rich	7	13	4	6	2	0	3	5	7	5	10	5	3	1	3	10	1	6	0	2	4
Lazy / H. Working	0	3	1	2	5	8	16	1	1	1	8	9	7	13	0	0	1	4	6	7	1
Precise / Imprecise	0	1	3	9	6	5	11	6	9	4	6	3	5	2	1	11	0	10	4	5	4
Excited / Reserved	6	5	3	13	3	3	2	1	3	4	9	3	4	5	0	1	4	4	1	1	2
Staid / Eccentric	1	2	3	9	7	6	10	1	5	6	12	4	4	10	0	0	1	2	9	8	4
Sophisticated / Naive	0	5	5	7	4	8	6	0	2	3	14	4	4	5	0	1	3	9	4	2	1
Greedy / Generous	3	4	3	15	5	3	2	3	0	3	14	4	4	3	0	0	1	12	4	6	1
Artistic / Unartistic	5	6	10	7	2	2	1	13	8	8	9	9	3	0	2	8	11	2	0	0	0
Follower / Leader	7	9	4	6	6	1	2	12	11	5	4	1	1	2	2	7	5	7	1	2	0

Raw data for the three populations in experiment five continued.

Instructions:

On the following pages, you will find various headings (one on each page), indicating various kinds of people. Beneath each heading, I want you to write down five adjectives that you think occur in the description of that particular group. I do not want your own personal view of the group. This is merely to find out what words you associate with each category and write down five adjectives for each heading and write down what you think of the category. If you think a phrase describes what you want to say, then write down the phrase.

SLIPS

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. EXPERIMENT SIX

POLITICIAN

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

WHITE PERSON

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

BLACK PERSON

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

HIPPY

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

Instructions:

"On the following pages, you will find various headings (one to each page), indicating various kinds of people. Beneath each heading, I want you to write down five adjectives that you think occur in the stereotype of that particular group. I do not want your own personal view of the group. This is purely to find out what each group's stereotypes in society are. Put down five adjectives for each heading and do not omit any of the categories. If you think a phrase describes what you want to say, then write down the phrase."

NURSE

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
-

POLICEMAN

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
-

WHITE PERSON

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
 6. _____
-

BLACK PERSON

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
-

HIPPY

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Copy of questionnaire for Experiment Six continued.

MODEL

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

BUSINESSMAN

1. _____
 2. _____
 3. _____
 4. _____
 5. _____
-

Adjectives produced by the School subjects in response to Experiment Six
(including the five 'most popular' and those endorsed more than once)

BLACK PERSON

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>: Number of</u> <u>Endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>: Number of</u> <u>Endorsements</u>
Colourful	15	Unpleasant	3
Musical	12	Artistic	2
Religious	11	Black	2
Intelligent	11	Dark	2
H. Working	11	Ignorant	2
Clean	8	Naive	2
Dirty	8	Pleasant	2
Happy	8	Reliable	2
Cheerful	6	Talkative	2
Strong	5	Tall	2
Lazy	4	Tidy	2
Sensitive	4	Ugly	2
Stupid	4	Unintelligent	2
Gay	3		
Insensitive	3		
Proud	3		

HIPPY

Dirty	27	Greedy	3
Lazy	22	Musical	3
Drug Taking	11	Unreliable	3
Unintelligent	10	Untidy	3
Stupid	9	Weak	3
Shabby	9	Anti social	2
Long haired	8	Follower	2
Happy	8	Ignorant	2
Poor	6	Mad	2
Scruffy	6	Naive	2
Intelligent	4	Unconventional	2
Artistic	3	Unhealthy	2
Drop Out	3		

BUSINESSMAN

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Intelligent	20	Mean	3
H. Working	12	Polite	3
Efficient	11	Posh	3
Clean	11	Sly	3
Rich	10	Snobbish	3
Smart	9	Sophisticated	3
Helpful	7	Bowler hatted	2
Happy	6	Lazy	2
Well dressed	6	Mercenary	2
Clever	4	Pompous	2
Cunning	4	Reliable	2
Pleasant	4	Rolls Royce	2
Crafty	3	Talkative	2
		Tidy	2
		Wealthy	2

ENGLISH PERSON

Intelligent	9	Superior	3
Clean	7	Well dressed	3
Posh	6	Big headed	2
Civilized	5	Conventional	2
Happy	5	Eccentric	2
H. Working	5	Healthy	2
Talkative	5	Kind	2
Untalkative	5	Relaxed	2
Animal Loving	4	Rich	2
Helpful	4	Stupid	2
Lazy	4	Traditional	2
Efficient	3	Well spoken	2
Sophisticated	3		

POLICEMAN

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsem nts</u>
Helpful	22	Polite	3
Intelligent	18	Reliable	3
Strong	13	Tall	3
H. Working	12	Trustworthy	3
Efficient	11	Big	2
Alert	9	Dedicated	2
Brave	6	Fussy	2
Law abiding	6	Obliging	2
Kind	4	Patient	2
Truthful	4	Rugged	2
Happy	3		

NURSE

Helpful	30	Reliable	3
H. Working	26	Brainy	2
Efficient	25	Gentle	2
Intelligent	16	Good	2
Kind	16	Patient	2
Dedicated	12	Polite	2
Caring	10	Quick witted	2
Happy	7	Skilful	2
Sympathetic	6	Strong	2
Cheerful	4	Tidy	2
Clean	4	Understanding	2
Neat	3		

MODEL

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Beautiful	10	Colourful	3
Happy	10	False	3
Intelligent	10	Healthy	3
H. Working	9	Reliable	3
Sophisticated	8	Stupid	3
Elegant	6	Attractive	2
Pleasant	6	Charming	2
Rich	6	Eccentric	2
Well dressed	6	Fashionable	2
good Figure	5	Patient	2
Clean	4	Polite	2
Delicate	4	Slim	2
Efficent	4	Smart	2
Lazy	4	Tall	2
Pretty	4	Unreliable	2
Shapely	4		

Adjectives produced by 'technical college subjects in response to Experiment Six. (Including the Five 'most popular' adjectives and those endorsed more than once).

Black Person

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Musical	18	Unreliable	3
Happy	15	Black	2
Hard working	14	Changable	2
Colourful	11	Dirty	2
Clean	8	Friendly	2
Religious	8	Humble	2
Honest	5	Lazy	2
Clever	4	Reliable	2
Intelligent	4	Rough	2
Poor	4	Smart	2
Helpful	3	Tough	2
Kind	3	Unself concious	2
Stupid	3	Unselfish	2
Talkative	3	Well Dressed	2

English Person

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Proud	15	Unreliable	3
Clean	12	Big Headed	2
Clever	10	Bossy	2
Intelligent	10	Colourful	2
Hard working	7	Eccentric	2
Happy	6	Educated	2
Good	5	Lazy	2
Snobbish	5	Miserly	2
Sophisticated	5	Musical	2
Kind	4	Naive	2
Superior	4	Rich	2
Greedy	3	Straight	2
Helpful	3	Stupid	2
Honest	3	Untalkative	2
Pleasant	3	Reliable	3
Selfish	3		

Adjectives produced by technical college subjects for experiment 6 continued.Nurse

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Helpful	25	Clean	7
Hard working	18	Pretty	4
Loyal	15	Understanding	3
Dedicated	13	Clever	2
Happy	12	Gentle	2
Kind	11	Good	2
Reliable	11	Honest	2
Friendly	10	Independent	2
Intelligent	10	Smart	2
Efficient	9	Sympathetic	2
Pleasant	9		

Policeman

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Helpful	18	Bossy	2
Alert	12	Colourless	2
Intelligent	10	Dependable	2
Clean	7	Forceful	2
Dedicated	8	Happy	2
Strict	7	Ignorant	2
Strong	7	Lazy	2
Hard working	6	Nasty	2
Reliable	6	Proud	2
Sly	6	Rough	2
Unpleasant	4	Stern	2
Clever	3	Stupid	2
Efficient	3	Tall	2
Nuisance	3	Unfriendly	2
Piggish	3	Unreliable	2

Model

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Smart	10	Eccentric	3
Attractive	9	Fashionable	3
Clean	9	Pretty	3
Hard working	8	Selfish	3
Rich	8	Unhelpful	3

Adjectives produced by technical college subjects - expt. 6 continued.Model continued:

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Happy	7	Well dressed	3
Intelligent	7	Adventurous	2
Lazy	6	Changable	2
Sexy	6	Dedicated	2
Affluent	5	Flamboyant	2
Pleasant	5	Good Looking	2
Sophisticated	5	Miserable	2
Stupid	5	Modern	2
Beautiful	4	Nice	2
Clever	4	Outgoing	2
Proud	4	Sensitive	2
Bossy	4	Snoopy	2
Colourful	3	Sociable	2
Delicate	3	Unreliable	2

Hippy

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Dirty	24	Pleasant	3
Lazy	22	Shabby	3
Happy	17	Unintelligent	3
Poor	11	Clean	2
Drug Taking	7	Clever	2
Intelligent	6	Dull	2
Unconventional	6	Reliable	2
Generous	5	Rough	2
Musical	5	Scruffy	2
Kind	4	Selfish	2
Untidy	4	Smelly	2
Way Out	4	Stupid	2
Artistic	3	Talkative	2
Colourful	3	Unreliable	2
Follower	3	Unselfish	2
Helpful	3		

Businessman

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Intelligent	20	Dedicated	3
Rich	16	Greedy	3

Adjectives produced by the student subjects in response to Experiment 6.
(Including the five 'most popular' and those that have been endorsed
more than once).

Black Person

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Musical	9	Foreign	2
Lazy	6	Happy	2
Dirty	6	Ignorant	2
Different	5	Inferior	2
Friendly	4	Jolly	2
Kind	4	Noisy	2
Poor	4	Oppressed	2
Unintelligent	4	Sensual	2
Easy Going	3	Simple	2
Frizzy Haired	3	Smelly	2
Large	3	Smiling	2
Aggressive	2	Sponger	2
Athletic	2	Strange	2
Cheerful	2	Stupid	2
Colourful	2	Stupid	2
Extravert	2	Unfortunate	2

English Person

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Stiff Upper Lip	10	Competent	2
Reserved	9	Conscientious	2
Cold	5	Conservative	2
Conventional	5	Friendly	2
Cool	4	Phlegmatic	2
Honest	4	Polite	2
Moral	4	Sporting	2
Animal Loving	3	Stupid	2
Civilized	3	Superior	2
White	3	Tolerant	2
Calm	2	Upright	2

Nurse

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Efficient	20	Bossy	2
Kind	12	Caring	2
Dedicated	10	Cheerful	2
Neat	9	Comforting	2
Sympathetic	7	Competent	2
Over worked	6	Curt	2
Helpful	5	Firm	2
Clean	4	Fussy	2
Friendly	4	Pretty	2
Tidy	4	Quiet	2
Calm	3	Sociable	2
Gentle	3	Starchy	2
Meticulous	3	Tired	2
Patient	3	Tolerant	2
Young	3		

Policeman

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Helpful	18	Strong	3
Tall	10	Stupid	3
Authoritative	6	Brave	2
Law abiding	6	Cheerful	2
Reliable	6	Clear Headed	2
Efficient	5	Confident	2
Considerate	4	Conscientious	2
Dependable	4	Conventional	2
Dutiful	4	Courageous	2
Friendly	4	Fat	2
Calm	3	Thick Headed	2
Honest	3	Understanding	2
Kind	3	Unintelligent	2
Polite	3	Useful	2
Stern	3		

Model

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Sophisticated	9	Well Dressed	4
Attractive	8	Graceful	3
Tall	8	Stupid	3

Model continued

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Elegant	7	Cool	2
Glamorous	7	Feminine	2
Beautiful	6	Frivolous	2
Superficial	6	Good Looking	2
Thin	5	Hard working	2
Vain	5	Immoral	2
Poised	4	Self Assured	2
Rich	4	Self Confident	2
Sexy	4	Sensual	2

Hippy

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Dirty	18	Peaceful	3
Long Haired	15	Promiscuous	3
Drug Taking	12	Anarchistic	2
Lazy	12	Begging	2
Scruffy	6	Free	2
Untidy	6	Friendly	2
Happy	5	Hairy	2
Rebellious	5	Idle	2
Unconventional	4	Oddly Dressed	2
Anti social	3	Parasitic	2
Freakish	3	Wearing Beads	2

Businessman

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Smart	13	Authoratative	2
Fat	10	Brisk	2
Conventional	9	Cold	2
Well Dressed	6	Commuting	2
Wealthy	6	Cunning	2
Materialistic	5	Dull	2
Rich	5	Forceful	2
Efficient	5	Greedy	2
Ruthless	5	Hard worker	2
Mercenary	4	Heavy Smoker	2
Narrow Minded	4	Middle class	2
Ambitious	3	Respectable	2
Boring	3	Self Content	2
Busy	3	Self Confident	2
Conservative	3	Shrewd	2
Formal	3	Unhealthy	2
Pompous	3		

Adjectives produced by subjects from the adult education classes in response to Experiment Six. (Including the five 'most popular' and those endorsed more than once).

Black Person

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Musical	7	Dirty	2
Colourful	5	Gregarious	2
Lazy	4	Jolly	2
Happy	3	Polite	2
Slow	3	Unintelligent	2
Strong	3	Unknown	2
Cheerful	2		

Nurse

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Kind	12	Gentle	3
Efficient	8	Intelligent	3
Dedicated	5	Bossy	3
Hard working	5	Calm	2
Patient	5	Smart	2
Sympathetic	4	Soothing	2
Cheerful	3	Strong	2
Clean	3		

Policeman

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Helpful	9	Official	2
Strong	7	Orderly	2
Tall	4	Patient	2
Authoritative	3	Proud	2
Dependable	3	Solid	2
Law abiding	3	Sturdy	2
Brave	2	Suspicious	2
Efficient	2	Upright	2
Intelligent	2	Young	2

Hippy

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Long Haired	6	Bearded	2
Dirty	5	Casual	2
Lazy	4	Colourful	2
Unconventional	4	Easy Going	2
Free	3	Gay	2
Happy	3	Irresponsible	2
Hairy	3	Rebellious	2
Scruffy	3	Way out	2
Untidy	3	Young	2

Businessman

<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Number of endorsements</u>
Conventional	5	Smug	2
Astute	4	Well dressed	2
Orderly	3	Pompous	2
Shrewd	3	Methodical	2
Smart	3	Intelligent	2
Articulate	2	Efficient	2
Talkative	2	Confident	2
